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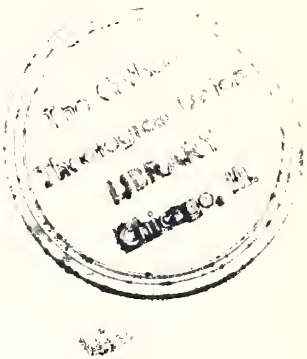

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The Knights of Labor, Politics, and Populism

I

The tradition of labor participation in politics in the United States has long been an underlying *motif* in the history of the working class. The extension of the suffrage following the American Revolution made it natural for labor to regard political action with a favored eye, especially because more direct weapons such as the strike did not produce many notable victories. In the ante-bellum period the right of government—state and national—to regulate the economy was accepted by many. The limitations placed by the Manchester School of liberals during the nineteenth century upon government intervention in economic life had never been fully accepted by even its most ardent advocates. Even after the Civil War, when *laissez faire* became the dominant keynote in economic theory, there were many who dissented from the majority view.[1] With government playing an important role in economic affairs, labor continued its efforts to influence policy through political activity.

Most native-American leaders, therefore, had grown to maturity at a time when powerful and active government, especially on the state level, was the rule rather than the exception, and the tradition of strong government left a visible imprint upon their labor philosophy. This was as true for the leaders of the 1860's, like William H. Sylvis, as for later ones, like Uriah S. Stephens and Terence V. Powderly. The ballot, then, came to be accepted as a legitimate means of securing favorable legislation.

[1] Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought 1865–1901*, Ann Arbor, 1956, 18–23, 29–31, *et passim*.

More often than not, however, attempts to forge a working class united in politics concluded in failure. An important cause for this failure was the fact that many workers refused to accept the permanency of their wage status and instead identified themselves with the middle class and its periodic antimonopoly campaigns. Thus it happened that the labor movement of the 1880's was afflicted with a peculiar duality of character. Traditionally the workers had regarded themselves as the producers and the only legitimate group in society. The rapid advance of industrialism, however, had reduced them to a position of dependence upon the owners of the means of production. Yet their thinking was still predicated upon the assumption that their independent position could somehow be restored, and hence they refused to accept the permanency of the capitalistic system. At the same time, nevertheless, they struggled for increased benefits within the framework of their environment, thus implicity acknowledging the permanency of their wage status. This duality made unanimity on specific issues difficult to achieve, especially since the workers persisted in retaining a middle class viewpoint. While all labor leaders might agree upon the necessity of labor political action, they could not come to terms on aims and objectives.

There were also other forces responsible for the ineffectiveness of labor political action. For one thing, there was the impelling force of party loyalty, which played an important role because of the absence of an authentic class consciousness. For another, the rising tide of immigration placed additional barriers in the way of successful political action. Many immigrants, because of their nonpolitical background, were unable to participate in politics independent of the major parties, while intellectuals migrating to the United States rarely understood American traditions and had an outlook derived from experience in feudal and stratified societies. In the third place, since the working class alone never constituted a majority of the population, it had to seek alliances with other groups, especially the farmers. But differing economic interests often made any farmer-labor coalition a relatively ephemeral one. Fourthly, the grandiose plans of labor reformers frightened many nonworkers who were willing to support legislative reforms on behalf of the working class but who were decidedly unwilling to endorse programs looking toward the abolition of private property. Finally, a relative scarcity of labor together with a rapidly expanding economy provided the workers with opportunity for advancement.

Thus the favorable economic environment acted, at least in part, as a safety valve.

All of these factors contributed to labor's inability to participate successfully in politics between 1828 and 1873. Yet the negative experiences of these years merely gave added force to labor's determination to use the machinery of government to serve its ends. The organization of the Knights of Labor on the national level in 1878 strengthened the advocates of political action, for this was the time that the agitation that culminated in the formation of the Greenback-Labor Party in February 1878 was at its height. By 1878 many labor leaders were participating in politics under the aegis of the new party, and Ralph Beaumont and Uriah S. Stephens represented the Order of the Knights of Labor at the national Greenback-Labor convention in February 1878.

Despite such promising beginnings, however, the connection between the Knights and Greenbackers never grew into an effective working alliance. For this fact Stephens, first Master Workman of the Order, was largely responsible, for he did not regard the Knights as a political organization. The Order, asserted Stephens, "ought to be the teacher of political economy in its true sense, and thus give birth to political parties and issues."[2] Nevertheless, he did not refuse the Greenback-Labor nomination in the Fifth Congressional District in Philadelphia in 1878.[3]

While Stephens was responsible for the failure of the Knights to affiliate with the Greenback-Labor Party, Powderly laid the foundation for the future political policy of the Order. As Master Workman for more than fifteen years, he exerted great influence over the formulation and adoption of policy.[4] Between 1878 and 1882 Powderly was active in Pennsylvania politics under the Greenback banner. But aware of the danger of introducing politics into labor organizations, he maintained that no man could be forced to vote for a particular candidate or party, for the objective of the Knights was to educate both men and parties. At the same time, he recommended support of candidates who were members of the Order.[5]

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[2] Stephens to Richard Griffiths, November 15, 1878, reprinted in *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XI (February 12, 1891), 2. See also Stephens to Joseph Cowell, November 25, 1878, Powderly Letter Books, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

[3] *Journal of United Labor*, II (August 15, 1881), 138.

[4] See Gerald N. Grob, "Terence V. Powderly and the Knights of Labor," MID-AMERICA, XXXIX (January 1957), 39–55.

[5] Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1880, 258; George E. McNeill, ed., *The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-day*, Boston, 1887, 417–418.

Powderly's interest in political action reflected his constituents' hopes of improving their condition through the enactment of beneficial legislation. In 1879, for example, the highest governing body of the Knights—the General Assembly—approved a resolution authorizing local assemblies to take political action that would enhance the interests of the membership.[6] A few months later, however, the Assembly imposed certain limitations on political activities in order to minimize the danger of internal dissension.[7]

In the years following 1880 the attitude of the Knights toward politics underwent virtually a complete metamorphosis, and the close relationship with the Greenback-Labor Party was dissolved. This transformation was largely a result of the actions of the Greenback-Labor movement in Pennsylvania, and its disillusioning influence upon Powderly and other leaders. Convinced that the party had cheated him out of a seat in Congress, Powderly momentarily withdrew from politics, bringing the Knights along with him.[8] Consequently, all attempts to force the General Assembly to adopt a more vigorous political policy were defeated.[9]

Between 1882 and 1885 the complexities of expansion and the persistence of strikes overshadowed the Order's political activities. Its leaders found themselves immersed in administrative details and problems arising from rapid growth. The rank and file, however, was still working through normal party channels and electing members to legislative bodies, especially on the local and state levels. Throughout the more populous urban areas of the industrial Northeast labor attempted to use its influence and insure the election of candidates favorable to its interests.[10] Often labor worked through one of the major parties; in other cases it selected its own candidates.[11] In isolated cases working class political activity was

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[6] Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, January 1879, 57, 67.

[7] Assemblies were granted permission to enter politics and support that party willing to endorse its demands. But the matter could be taken under consideration only when the regular meeting of the group had been formally closed. Moreover, assemblies could engage in politics only if three-quarters of the members present approved; even then, no members could be compelled to vote as the majority dictated. *Ibid.*, September 1879, 120, 130.

[8] See Powderly to Joseph Labadie, November 13, 1882, Powderly Letter Books; Edward T. James, "American Labor and Political Action, 1865–1896: The Knights of Labor and its Predecessors," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1954, 189, 199–200.

[9] Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1880, 192, 194, 229, 232; 1881, 287, 295, 307, 309; 1883, 445, 508.

[10] See, for example, *John Swinton's Paper*, October 21, November 4, 1883.

[11] *Ibid.*, November 11, 1883.

highly successful. For example, the Knights in 1884 claimed to have nineteen representatives and senators in the Michigan legislature.[12]

Despite some relatively minor and isolated victories, the political activities of local and district assemblies were not notably successful. Purely labor candidates could rarely attract a significant percentage of the vote, and when individual members were elected with major party support, it was often more a victory for the party than the Knights. In New York City in 1883 labor elected only two out of eight assemblymen, and even these two victories required party support.[13] In Philadelphia a labor ticket in 1885 received only 500 votes.[14] It was clear that discussions concerning fair and equitable legislation was one thing; to elect men favorably disposed toward their passage was another.

> How many wage-workers were elected to congress or State legislatures? [complained a leading trade union journal] In the large cities *nobody else* ought to have been elected. Labor can stand by its trade unions, but when it comes into a political fight it throws away its arms and surrenders to the fiction of a "party." It is our parties that divide us, and gives us to the common enemy. There seems to be no hope through political action.[15]

In legislature after legislature labor found its voice unheeded, its bills defeated or else pigeon-holed in committee. At the state capitals of Maine, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Missouri, and Michigan bills regulating the hours of women and children failed of passage.[16] At every turn the working class found its political efforts frustrated.

II

The unparalled growth of the Knights in the 1880's, however, soon placed an important and perhaps more effective technique in the hands of its leaders—to use the potential political strength of a numerically powerful organization as a lever with which to compel the passage of favorable legislation. The passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, in which the Knights had taken a

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[12] *Iron Molders' Journal*, XX (November 30, 1884), 13. For other successes see *Journal of United Labor*, III (December 1882), 369; VI (May 10, 1885), 982; Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *Annual Report*, I (1884), 71; *John Swinton's Paper*, April 6, 1884.

[13] *John Swinton's Paper*, November 11, 1883.

[14] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1885.

[15] *The Carpenter*, III (April 1883), 3.

[16] *John Swinton's Paper*, April 26, 1885.

prominent though perhaps not a decisive hand, stimulated the belief that labor's interests could be served best through a process of bargaining with the established political parties.

The first real effort by the Knights to compel Congress to enact favorable legislation occurred in 1884. The previous year the window glass manufacturers had attempted to import foreign workmen in an attempt to destroy Window Glass Workers Local Assembly 300. The members of Local Assembly 300, in turn, were advised by their lawyer to seek federal passage of a law that would outlaw such attempts. The General Assembly decided to support such legislation and instructed its officers to go to Washington to lobby for a bill outlawing the importation of foreign contract labor. [17]

A bill making illegal the importation of contract labor was introduced into the House at the beginning of 1884 by Martin A. Foran, former president of the Coopers International Union. At the hearings before the House Committee on Labor, Powderly and other officials argued for its passage. Petitions were circulated, and other labor organizations also sent representatives.[18] Public meetings were also arranged, and Powderly issued a circular designed to spur workingmen to bring to bear their influence on the national legislature.[19] Congress, however, adjourned while the bill was still pending in the Senate, the House having approved its passage.[20]

During the remainder of 1884 the Knights continued to agitate for congressional action. When Congress reconvened Powderly wrote to the President of the Senate in an effort to force action.[21] The bill was finally reported out of committee and became law in February 1885. Although the law did not provide effective means of enforcement, its passage testified to the growing political prominence of the Knights of Labor.

Victory in this pioneering lobbying effort caused the Knights to examine more closely the possibilities inherent in pressure-group tactics, and in the spring of 1886 the General Assembly authorized the creation of a special three-man committee to visit Congress

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[17] Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor. 1859 to 1889*, Columbus, Ohio, 1889, 442–443.

[18] House Committee on Labor, 48 Congress 1st Session, *House Report 444*, Washington, D. C., 1884, 8–12.

[19] *John Swinton's Paper*, January 13, April 6, 1884.

[20] Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, 445; *John Swinton's Paper*, July 13, 1884.

[21] Powderly to George Edmunds, January 14, 1885, Powderly Letter Books.

and attempt to influence legislation, especially those measures dealing with land reform.[22]

On June 11, 1886, Ralph Beaumont arrived in Washington to take his place as chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Knights. But the high hopes of the committee members were quickly and rudely shattered. The failure of the Southwest strike, the public statements of Jay Gould claiming that the backbone of the Knights had been broken, and press reports of internal dissension, all had given rise to rumors that the organization would disintegrate before the fall elections. Thus from the beginning the committee found itself operating under a severe handicap. To counteract these unfavorable impressions it decided to flood Congress with a series of petitions, some of which contained more than 300,000 signatures.[23] The committee, on the whole, directed its major energies toward securing congressional approval of a series of land reform measures.[24]

While continuing his lobbying activities in Washington, Beaumont began at the same time a campaign to influence the congressional elections of 1886. The establishment of a congressional labor bloc, in his opinion, would strengthen his hand as a lobbyist. Powderly lent his approval and suggested concentrating on a few districts where the Order was strong. Maine was chosen for the test, but the results proved unfortunate as the individual marked for defeat won by an even larger than usual majority.[25]

Beaumont's plan of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, however, did not win widespread acceptance. Instead local units of the Knights together with other labor organizations launched independent political tickets throughout the country. These activities were all a heritage of the emotional fervor of what has been termed the "Great Upheaval." At least twenty-six states were affected by independent political movements, and for a time it appeared as though labor was intent upon revolutionizing the structure of American politics. "We have a vast mass of material which we cannot print, showing the drift of the workers toward politics," John Swin-

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22 Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly,* 1886 special session, 40–42. Powderly had suggested such a committee the previous year, but the General Assembly had not adopted his proposals. *Ibid.,* 1885, 15–16, 103, 134–135.

23 *Ibid.,* 1886, 139.

24 *Ibid.,* 139–148. For Powderly's predilection for land reform see Powderly to J. G. Malcolm, December 3, 1882; Powderly to Thomas H. Dever, September 22, 1883, Powderly Letter Books.

25 Powderly to Beaumont, July 27, 1886, Powderly Letter Books; James, "American Labor and Political Action," 278–287.

ton reported. "From California and Oregon to Maine and Massachusetts,—from Illinois and Michigan to Texas and Virginia, we have the news of this drift. All the various organizations appear to be moving under the same impulse."[26]

What were the results of the intense political activities of the working class during the campaign of 1886? Undoubtedly the outcome of the New York City mayorality campaign between Henry George, Abram Hewitt, and Theodore Roosevelt, were most impressive. George, with labor backing, succeeded in polling nearly 68,000 votes, as opposed to 90,000 for Hewitt and 60,000 for Roosevelt.[27] While the New York contest attracted the most publicity, labor's showing in other areas surpassed even the most sanguine predictions. In Chicago the vote of the United Labor Party reached nearly 25,000, and it elected seven members to the Assembly and one to the Senate in Springfield, five judges, and fell short of electing a congressman by only sixty-four votes.[28] In Milwaukee the People's Party polled more votes than the Democrats and Republicans combined, carrying the whole county ticket and electing the labor candidate for Congress. Although failing to elect the governor, the labor slate in Wisconsin polled between 25,000 and 30,000 votes.[29] Municipal labor tickets won out in Lynn, Massachusetts, Rutland, Vermont, Nangatuck and South Norwalk, Connecticut, Key West, Florida, and Richmond, Virginia. In localities in Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, Kentucky, and Missouri, the workingmen made their presence felt. Labor made its poorest showing in the South and, with the single exception of the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia where the Order's candidate was elected, could claim few victories in this section. Aside from the independent labor parties, many workers also ran as Democrats or Republicans. Martin A. Foran in Ohio and B. F. Shively in Indiana, for example, were sent to Congress as Democrats, and in Massachusetts

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[26] *John Swinton's Paper*, August 8, 1886.

[27] In this campaign Powderly made a significant departure from nonpartisanship when he consented to make a speech favoring George's election. This was only a temporary aberration, however, for Powderly spoke because of his desire to see labor make a strong showing and to nullify Democratic charges that he was opposed to George. See Powderly to Lewis Ross, F. A. Herwig, and James Macmullen, December 20, 1886, Powderly Letter Books; *Workingmen, Read! What Your Leaders Said About Henry George*, n.p., n.d., Henry George Collection, New York Public Library; Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, 288–294. Following the New York mayoralty campaign, Powderly broke with George. See Powderly to Edward Enbody, October 11, 1888, Powderly Letter Books.

[28] Edward B. Mittelman, "Chicago Labor in Politics 1877–96," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXVIII (May 1920), 421.

[29] *John Swinton's Paper*, November 7, 1886.

Robert Howard, the acting head of District Assembly 30, was re-elected to the State Senate.[30]

Labor's spectacular showing during the campaign of 1886 led to a concerted effort to transform the temporary labor parties into permanent organizations. On February 22, 1887, the National Industrial Union Conference met in Cincinnati and organized the National Union Labor Party. Although some members of the Knights attended, few of the 458 delegates were themselves workingmen, and all the members elected to the national executive committee were farmers. The platform, however, did endorse most of the labor demands of the preamble of the constitution of the Knights. In the Middle West labor organizations readily united with the new party, but in the East similar efforts were bitterly resisted by working class leaders.[31]

The organization of the National Union Labor Party, however, did not decrease working class absorption in independent political action. In the spring of 1887, for example, no less than seventy-three labor tickets, two thirds of which were in the Middle West, were in the field.[32] In Milwaukee and at least nineteen other localities labor tickets swept to victory.[33] Within the ranks of organized labor hopes ran high. While Powderly adhered to his nonpartisan policy of refusing to permit the Order to become involved with the National Union Labor Party,[34] Charles H. Litchman wrote an enthusiastic editorial for the Order's official publication about the potentialities of labor political action.[35]

Despite the high hopes of many labor leaders, the fall elections of 1887 demonstrated that the political agitation aroused by the Great Upheaval had passed its peak and was subsiding. Lack of unity and internal dissension further contributed to the decline in labor's political activities. Indeed, the presidential campaign the following year merely accentuated the decline of the efforts of the Knights in the political arena, for many members were openly taking sides. On August 25, 1888, Litchman, then secretary of the Knights, resigned to campaign for Harrison and a high tariff.[36] Circum-

[30] John R. Commons, ed., *History of Labour in the United States*, 4 vols., New York, 1918–1935, II, 463; *John Swinton's Paper*, November 7, 1886.

[31] *John Swinton's Paper*, February 27, 1887; Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 464–465.

[32] James, "American Labor and Political Action," 336–337.

[33] Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 466.

[34] *Journal of United Labor*, VII (February 5, 1887), 2276.

[35] *Ibid.*, VII (April 16, 1887), 2356.

[36] *Ibid.*, IX (September 6, 1888), 2693; Powderly to John W. Hayes, September 7, 1888, Powderly–Hayes Correspondence, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

stancial evidence warrants the conclusion that the Republicans made a deal with Litchman, who received a berth in the Treasury Department after the election. Local Assembly 300 made substantial contributions to the campaign fund of the Republican Party, and Indiana assemblies of the Knights openly supported Harrison. Many members, on the other hand, either backed Cleveland or else worked through one of the independent labor parties in this area.

While numerous assemblies of the Knights were supporting either Harrison or Cleveland, Powderly outwardly maintained his nonpartisan attitude. He still hoped that the political activities of the Order would be confined to legislative lobbying and not third party action.[37] Powderly also rebuffed Republican attempts to utilize a speech he made in 1883 favoring a high tariff, explaining that although he believed in tariff protection, he also believed it was not a proper issue for the Knights to act upon.[38] Yet while denying that he was a candidate for political office, Powderly engaged in secret political negotiations with both major parties in the fall and summer of 1888. That he did not support either candidate did not so much attest to adherence to principle as it did to the fact that no offer was sufficiently tempting to make him renounce his nonpartisanship.[39]

The results of the presidential campaign of 1888 proved discouraging. While some victories were achieved on the state level, there was only disaster on the national level, and every pro-labor member of Congress was defeated.[40] "Never in the history of American civilization did the wageworker have a better opportunity to display his intelligence in the use of the elective franchise," the official journal of the Knights remarked, "and never did he make a poorer use of it than on that occasion. . . . Labor's friends have been defeated on every side by Labor's foes."[41] Aside from a major

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[37] *Journal of United Labor*, VIII (May 5, 1888), 2622. See also *ibid.*, IX (August 16, 1888), 2681.

[38] *Ibid.*, IX (August 16, 1888), 2681; (September 13, 1888), 2697. For Powderly's attitude toward the tariff see Powderly to Edward H. Ammidown, July 24, 1886; Powderly to E. W. Pierce, November 22, 1886; Powderly to W. A. Karr, December 12, 1886, Powderly Letter Books.

[39] Litchman indirectly attacked Powderly's course. "I hold it more honorable to lay down official duties that would hamper private action than to retain such position and at the same time be engaged in political scheming in secret with the party agents whom it is necessary ostensibly to publicly denounce." Litchman to Powderly, August 29, 1888, *Journal of United Labor*, IX (September 6, 1888), 2693. The *National Labor Tribune* echoed Litchman's charge. *National Labor Tribune*, September 8, 1888; *Journal of United Labor*, IX (September 13, 1888), 2698. See also James, "American Labor and Political Action," 433.

[40] Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1889, *Report of the National Legislative Committee*, 2.

[41] *Journal of United Labor*, IX (November 15, 1888), 2734.

political defeat, many assemblies were disrupted because of internal political rivalries, and the General Executive Board of the Knights advanced the claim that the partisan political activities of several of its officers during the presidential campaign cost the Order no less than 100,000 members.[42] Thus ended the political agitation inspired by the Great Upheaval.

Why, then, did all of this political enthusiasm produce so few results? In the first place, conditions between 1886 and 1888 did not warrant the optimistic hopes held by many labor leaders. American workingmen obviously were not hostile toward political action, provided that such action produce concrete and immediate benefits. Yet after two years of intense political strife workingmen found that their efforts had resulted in more harm than good. When labor's votes had been uncommitted, the major parties evinced much more readiness to consider its grievances. Hence the anticontract labor bill was able to receive favorable consideration by Congress in 1885. When labor committed its forces to a particular party or individual, however, it could no longer threaten to use its influence against its enemies. The commitment of its forces thus had eroded the foundation upon which its bargaining position depended.

Secondly, independent political action was predicated upon the conviction that the working class could be united behind a common political program and party. Yet the facts did not warrant such an optimistic assumption. The experiences of the National Legislative Committee of the Knights, for example, were not unique. Launched at the height of the Great Upheaval, the committee members soon found that it did not command the allegiance of the men it purported to represent in Washington. "[We are] of the opinion that the rank and file of the Order do not take as much interest in the question of legislation as they ought to," the committee reported to the General Assembly in 1889. "We feel that the efforts of a committee at the capital are powerless if they do not have the active support of the Order by petition and also by votes at election times."[43]

In the third place, the process of building a cohesive and powerful labor party was slow and arduous. The years between 1828 and 1873 had witnessed many working class political crusades, but all had failed to live up to their expectations. Workingmen, on the other hand, supported independent political movements to the degree that they coincided with their interests, and when these

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42 Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 469.

43 Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1889, *Report of the National Legislative Committee*, 3–4.

movements failed to bring the anticipated relief, the workers quickly abandoned their still-born progeny.

Finally, the political background of the working class militated against the success of independent political action, for individuals, conditioned by strong party ties that were the habit of years, could not so easily abandon their traditional allegiance. Many members of the Knights recognized this omnipresent danger and warned against partisan action. Even before the Knights embarked upon a political crusade, one leader sounded a note of caution. "Wherever we have allowed political action as a body," he warned, "it has worked us an injury, and put the growth of the Order at a stand-still, and breeds dissension and hard feelings in the Assemblies when peace and harmony should prevail."[44]

III

The failure of independent political action, however, did not remove the Knights from politics. Instead the political energies of the Knights were channeled into a different direction. Beginning in the mid-1880's the Order moved slowly but steadily toward forging an alliance with the farmer. The moment appeared propitious for such a coalition. The mechanization of agriculture had forced the farmer into a difficult position. Caught between decreasing farm prices, an ever-increasing surplus, and relatively high costs of transportation, the nation's farmers were in revolt against their depressed condition by the 1880's. With the continued existence of grievances in farm and labor groups, it was only natural that attempts would be made for union on a program of mutual relief.

Circumstances augured well for the success of the movement. To begin with, the rural element had always been numerically strong in the Knights, and after 1886 they gained proportionately in strength and provided a strong impetus for a farmer-labor coalition. In the second place, the Order's leaders were wedded to the concept of a fluid society lacking in class distinctions, and they thought in terms of a community of interests between farmers and workers. The fact that both were producers lent credence to this belief. Thirdly, its growing preoccupation with land reform led the Knights to gravitate toward the farmer as a possible source of additional strength. In the fourth place, Powderly himself gave strong support to the proposal for such an alliance. Although maintaining

[44] *Journal of United Labor*, V (July 10, 1884), 740. See also *ibid.*, VII (June 11, 1887), 2422.

his nonpartisan political attitude, he assumed that workers and farmers could unite behind a common program, using their combined political strength as an irresistible lobby.[45] Finally, there was the fact that Populism and labor reformism had sprung from the same womb. Both were descended from the equal rights and antimonopoly movements of the 1830's; both had been nourished upon the monetary reform schemes in vogue between 1840 and 1880; and both had supported various co-operative undertakings.[46]

There had been sporadic attempts at union between farm and labor groups, but the campaign that would succeed began in 1885 when the General Assembly of the Knights referred a resolution to the General Executive Board advocating the establishment of closer relations with the farmer so as to enhance the political bargaining position of both groups.[47] In the spring of 1886 the Assembly went further and sent a hopeful communication to the National Grange, and the following year appointed a committee on fraternal relations with the Patrons of Husbandry.[48] The immediate upshot of the ensuing negotiations was that each organization should maintain a lobbying committee in Washington "who shall consult and confer together, with the view of securing such legislation as will conduce to the interest and welfare of both organizations."[49]

By 1889 relations between the Knights and the farmers had passed beyond exchanges of greetings and promises to work together in harmony. The General Assembly meeting in that year appointed a Committee on Mortgage Debtors as a concession to the agrarians. The committee, in turn, pledged the Order to work for revision in the foreclosure laws of the various states. Although it did not specifically single out the farmer, the committee's report obviously was a concession to the farm element. Following the

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[45] *Journal of the Knights of Labor,* X (April 24, 1890), 1; (May 1, 1890), 1. Powderly's belief in land reform made him receptive to the idea of a farmer-labor coalition. This coalition, he believed, would function best as a lobby and not as a political party. Powderly, as we will see, was not an ardent supporter of the People's Party and continued to proclaim his unbroken nonpartisanship between 1889 and 1892.

[46] See Chester M. Destler, *American Radicalism 1865–1901,* New London, Connecticut, 1946, Chap. 1.

[47] Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly,* 1885, 100, 106, 135. For evidence of earlier farmer-labor collaboration on the state and regional level see Eugene Staley, *History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor,* Chicago, 1930, 28; *John Swinton's Paper,* February 4, April 6, 1884, August 30, November 29, 1885; *The Craftsman,* II (September 5, 1885), 2, (September 19, 1885), 2.

[48] Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly,* 1886 special session, 70; 1887, 1637.

[49] *Ibid.,* 1887, 1792.

adoption of this report by the General Assembly, the delegates listened to addresses by a committee from the Farmers Alliance of Georgia. Expressing optimistic hopes for farmer-labor co-operation, the delegation bade the Knights send representatives to the November meeting of the Farmers' Alliance in St. Louis.[50]

The growing *rapprochement* between the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights reflected developments on the local and state levels. The loss of thousands of members in the more industrialized regions of the East and Mid-West strengthened proportionately the rural elements in the Order. In many states members of the Knights began to meet with agrarian representatives to draw up a common platform. In South Dakota, New York, Kansas, Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Minnesota, Texas, and North Carolina local and district assemblies of the Knights worked in harmony and cooperated with farm organizations.[51]

Action on the national level came at the St. Louis farmers' convention in December 1889, where Powderly, Beaumont, and A. W. Wright spoke for the Knights and helped to prepare a platform for union, under which each group pledged itself to suport only those candidates supporting farmer-labor demands. The platform included such diverse planks as the abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal-tender notes in the place of national bank currency, outlawing dealings in the future sale of commodities, the free and unlimited coinage of silver, prohibition of alien land ownership, land reform, an end to class legislation, governmental control and operation of the means of communication and transportation, and mutual recognition of all seals and labels.[52] "Never before was the future so full of hope," sang the official journal of the Knights. "With fidelity to conviction, all we ever hoped for is now within our reach."[53]

Although the St. Louis platform was heavily weighted in favor of the farmer, the General Assembly of the Knights approved it in November 1890. Moreover, the Assembly decided to send delegates to the meeting of the Farmers' Alliance at Ocala, Florida, to

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[50] *Ibid.*, 1889, 73–76, 87–93.

[51] *Journal of United Labor*, X (July 11, 1889), 1; (October 31, 1889), 1; *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, X (March 27, 1889), 2; (June 12, 1890), 1, 4; XI (July 10, 1890), 4; (August 21, 1890), 1; (November 27, 1890), 2; (April 2, 1891), 1; XII (July 16, 1891), 1; (October 8, 1891), 1; (May 5, 1892), 1; Ruth A. Allen, *Chapters in the History of Organized Labor in Texas*, Austin, 1941, 23–24.

[52] *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, X (December 12, 1889), 1; (January 16, 1890), 1–3.

[53] *Ibid.*, X (December 12, 1889), 2.

arrange for the convening of a National Reform Industrial Convention to "formulate an independent political platform upon the principles of the preamble of the Knights of Labor, so that this order shall give its endorsement and support to that at the ballot box."[54]

Meanwhile, the results of the congressional and state elections in the autumn of 1890 strengthened the proponents of an independent farmer-labor party. In Kansas, for example, the reform forces swept the state offices and elected a congressman and a senator. Similarly, in the Third Congressional District of Nebraska an Alliance candidate defeated his Democratic and Republican opponents. Tillman was elected governor of South Carolina, and in North Carolina and Georgia the reform coalition fared well.[55] Richard Trevellick, a prominent Knight, claimed that the farmer-labor bloc could count on the support of fifty-two congressmen, twenty-three of whom were independents.[56]

A few weeks after the election the Farmers' Alliance met at Ocala, Florida, and Powderly, Beaumont, and Wright again represented the Knights. The gratifying results of the election of 1890 had spurred the political enthusiasts to new efforts, and after a platform similar to the St. Louis one was adopted, the delegates called for another convention to meet in Cincinnati on February 23, 1891, to form a new national political party.[57] Powderly, however, had also issued a call for a National Reform Industrial Convention to meet on that date, and he and several Ocala delegates therefore agreed to have the farmers postpone the Cincinnati meeting until May.[58]

In the interim between the Ocala convention and the meeting scheduled for Cincinnati in May 1891, Powderly, Hayes, and Wright met with representatives from the various farm organizations in Washington on January 21, 1891. Unwilling to abandon his nonpartisanship and unhappy at the idea of turning the Knights into a

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54 Professor Perlman interprets this statement to mean that the Knights supported the formation of an independent political party. Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 493. Actually the General Assembly was simply endorsing a *platform*, and it indicated its willingness to support any party that endorsed this platform. Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1890, 63–64, 70–71.

55 *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XI (November 13, 1890), 1; (November 20, 1890), 1; XI (February 5, 1891), 3; Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 492–493. For a full discussion of the election of 1890 see John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, Minneapolis, 1931, 153–185.

56 *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XI (November 20, 1890), 1.

57 *Ibid.*, XI (December 11, 1890), 1.

58 *Ibid.*, XI (January 8, 1891), 1.

political party, Powderly tried desperately to hold back the political enthusiasts in the Order.[59] Nothing of importance, therefore, came out of the conference, except the indication that the Knights would not officially join any party.[60] While Powderly had succeeded in temporarily postponing any proposal to amalgamate the Knights with the Farmers' Alliance, his plan of calling a National Reform Industrial Convention to formulate a nonpartisan program also met with defeat. When only local assemblies of the Knights responded to Powderly's call, he was forced to call off the meeting scheduled for February 23.[61]

By the spring of 1891, therefore, a definite pattern had emerged. The farmers were still seeking to secure labor support for the People's Party, but only on their own terms. The Cincinnati convention meeting in May, for example, laid the groundwork for the formal organization of the People's Party. Although over fourteen hundred delegates attended, few were *bona fide* labor representatives, and the convention was completely dominated by agrarian reformers. The delegates unanimously supported the formation of a new party and again reaffirmed the St. Louis and Ocala platforms.[62]

Powderly, nevertheless, still fought off all attempts to commit the Knights to outright support of the Populists. Despite the increasing pressure on him by western members of the Knights, he insisted upon pursuing a nonpartisan policy and continued to warn against the dangers of partisan politics.[63] Powderly's position, however, did not find widespread acceptance, and the movement to establish the People's Party on a firm foundation with labor support continued unabated. In February 1892 another convention met in St. Louis to unite the various reform organizations solidly behind the new party. Of the 860 delegates present, only eighty-two were from the Knights. Including other union delegations, labor accounted for only twenty-five percent of the delegates, the remainder coming from various farm organizations. Eastern labor was entirely unrepresented. The convention made a show of unity by electing Hayes temporary secretary and Hugh Cavaneaugh, General Worthy Foreman of the Knights, chairman of the platform

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59 *Ibid.*, X (May 22, 1890), 1.
60 *Ibid.*, XI (January 29, 1891), 1.
61 *Ibid.*, XI (February 12, 1891), 1. Powderly also canceled a later convention that he had called. *Ibid.*, XII (July 9, 1891), 1.
62 *Ibid.*, XI (May 28, 1891), 1.
63 Powderly to A. H. Shank, January 15, 1892, Powderly Letter Books.

committee. In addition, A. W. Wright also headed subcommittee on land reform.[64]

Despite the concessions apparently granted to organized labor, the platform adopted by the delegates was primarily an agrarian rather than a labor document.[65] The convention then made provision for a nominating convention, and the structure of the new political ediface was completed in July 1892 in Omaha, when the People's Party nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa and General James G. Field of Virginia for President and Vice President. Although Hayes was elected permanent secretary, control of the convention remained in agrarian hands and the delegates reaffirmed the platform adopted at St. Louis the previous February. To court working class support, however, the convention adopted a supplementary platform. These additions supported the restriction of contract labor and "undesirable immigration," offered sympathy to labor's efforts to shorten working hours, denounced the use of Pinkerton detectives in industrial disputes, and endorsed the Knights' boycott of the Rochester, New York, clothing manufacturers.[66]

In the ensuing campaign the Knights played a minor role. Although assemblies were active in Weaver's behalf throughout the West and South, they were more appendages of farm groups than *bona fide* labor organizations. While the Knights made isolated efforts to rally eastern workingmen behind the Populist banner,[67] its endeavors met with little success. Although the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* strongly backed Weaver's candidacy,[68] Powderly's activities on behalf of the People's Party were anything but enthusiastic. In June 1892 he refused to accept credentials as a delegate-at-large from Pennsylvania to the Omaha convention because it meant abandonment of his nonpartisanship.[69] During the campaign he did little except make occasional speeches and write a few letters.[70] His support of Weaver, however, did not prevent him

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64 *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XII (March 3, 1892), 1–2.

65 The platform called for monetary reform, free coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, land reform, government ownership and operation of the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. The only concessions granted organized labor were embodied in the form of two supplemental resolutions endorsing the Knights' label and also National Trade Assembly 231 in its struggle against the clothing manufacturers of Rochester, New York. *Ibid.*, XII (March 3, 1892), 4.

66 *Ibid.*, XIII (July 7, 1892), 1.

67 See *ibid.*, XIII (November 3, 1892), 1, and XII (May 5, 1892), 1.

68 *Ibid.*, XIII (July 14, 1892), 2.

69 Powderly to F. Reed Agnew, June 14, 1892, Powderly Letter Books. See also *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XII (June 2, 1892), 1; XIII (June 30, 1892), 1.

70 Powderly to J. A. Fox, September 30, 1892, Powderly Letter Books.

from expressing a hope that Harrison would triumph over Cleveland.[71]

While the results of the campaign of 1892 were enthusiastically hailed by the People's Party, it was also clear that the attempt to weld a farmer-labor coalition had completely failed. Although Weaver polled over a million popular votes and won twenty-two electoral votes, the results of the election also showed that the main strength of the Populists lay in the rural areas of the West. East of the Mississippi River the People's Party received only a sprinkling of votes. In the urban areas of Illinois the Populist vote was less than half of one percent of the total, and out of nearly 250,000 ballots cast in Cook County (Chicago), the Populist candidate received only 1,214.[72] In the heavily-industrialized states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts the Populist vote was under 30,000.[73]

Undoubtedly the fact that the farmers and workers had interests that were not identical contributed to the failure to forge an effective alliance between the two. *The People,* organ of Daniel DeLeon and the Socialist Labor Party, for example, pointed out that the Omaha platform contemplated "the promotion of the interests of the small farmer . . . by relieving him at the expense of the worker."[74] The underlying antagonisms of both groups, accentuated by differing economic interests, were never fully resolved. The farmers wanted high agricultural and low industrial prices—exactly the opposite from what the workers demanded. In turn the workers ardently supported eight hours, while the farmers looked askance upon such a demand.

Yet, as one student has pointed out, "both small farmers and urban craftsmen might well have profited from a limited program of state action that was restricted to cheap credit, cheap transportation, cheap communication and utility rates, and a minimum program of protective labor legislation, together with the destruction of monopolies and the reduction of great fortunes through taxation shifted somewhat from the shoulders of the masses."[75] The failure of the People's Party to recruit a following from the ranks of

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[71] Powderly to G. F. Washburn, October 13, 1892, Powderly Letter Books.

[72] Destler, *American Radicalism,* 168; Mittelman, "Chicago Labor in Politics 1877–96," *loc. cit.,* 423.

[73] U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* XXXIII (1910), 662.

[74] *The People,* July 1, 1894.

[75] Destler, *American Radicalism,* 223.

organized labor between 1889 and 1892, then, was not merely a result of antagonistic economic interests, for both also had common interests. The events that transpired during these three momentous years had a deeper significance, for they were symptomatic of the changes taking place in the labor movement itself. It is important to note, for example, that the farmers chose Powderly as the man to negotiate with instead of Samuel Gompers, the representative of the trade unions. The Populists could only succeed in their effort to attain labor support if workingmen still adhered to an older form of reformism whose roots lay embedded in the equal rights and antimonopoly tradition of American radicalism. To the agrarians the Knights seemed best to represent that heritage. They could not turn to Gompers because he regarded the Farmers' Alliance as composed partially of employers with interests that differed with those of the workers.[76] So the Populists turned instead to the Knights. By pinning their hopes on the chance that American workingmen would still support a domestic species of reform, the Populists hoped to realize their dream of an irresistible farmer-labor alliance. Their choice of partners, however, turned out to be an unfortunate one, for the Knights of Labor no longer represented the aspirations of the American worker. From a peak of 700,000 in 1886, the membership of the Order plummeted to less than 100,000 by 1890. Instead of wooing organized labor, the Populists were merely negotiating with a band of individual reformers whose influence on the labor movement was fast disappearing. Thus the failure of the Populists to win labor support through an alliance with the once-powerful Knights demonstrated that workers for the most part had finally abandoned their absorption in reform and the older equal rights and antimonopoly heritage. Herein lay the real significance of the failure of the farmer and worker to come to terms between 1889 and 1892.

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[76] Gompers to Tom Mann, September 2, 1891; Gompers to J. F. Tillman, September 12, 1891; Gompers to O. P. Smith, February 10, 1892; Gompers to John McBride, February 6, 1893, Samuel Gompers Letter Books, A. F. of L.–C. I. O. Building, Washington, D. C.; Gompers, "Organized Labor in the Campaign," *North American Review*, CLV (July 1892), 93.

The Civil War Diary of Florison D. Pitts

Introduction

The experiences of many a Union soldier are mirrored in this diary of one member of that vast army now so recently disbanded forever. The long marchings, the rain and mud, sickness, ubiquitous hunger, victories and reverses, tedious hours whiled away in cards and games, the building of "shebangs," visits to town—all these are here. Singularly absent, however, is the "griping" and the master-minding. In its stead we find, not perhaps a pervasive humor—there are delightful flashes—but an inclination toward seeing the bright side, if one were to be seen at all. Battles and skirmishes the writer recounts with a certain brevity and casualness suiting their being but part of the day's work. Certainly, in the midst of operations the writer did not assume the pose or judgment of the historian viewing these things from some lofty eminence. Where crushing defeat occurred, no dampening of spirit, no despair is confided to the diary's pages; perhaps music and reading served as the balancing factors. We find, too, an eye that darted about quickly, lighting on the odd, the irrelevant, the comic; an easy attitude to regulations; an appreciation now and then of Nature's finery and of urban scenes. One vivid impression which a modern reader will gain is that of the cumbrous military machine lumbering slowly, sometimes leisurely, but not steadily nor inevitably—indeed often mired down completely—to a rendezvous not always distinctly seen. And if the ordinary soldier of that army realized this, his perseverance all the more astonishes us.

Florison D. Pitts was one of the four sons of Hiram Avery Pitts. The father, born in Maine about 1800, came to Chicago in 1852, and established a factory producing horse powers and threshing machines, in which he had made some notable inventions.[1] The factory, at the corner of West Randolph and Jefferson Streets, burned down in September, 1855, after which it was rebuilt on a greatly extended scale. In 1860, the elder Pitts died, whereupon his sons managed the business.

Florison was already married to Jennie when the Mercantile Association of Chicago recruited and organized the Chicago Mercan-

[1] See *Dictionary of American Biography, s. v.* H. A. Pitts.

tile Battery, opening the muster rolls on August 5th, 1862. On August 13th the Battery went into camp near Camp Douglas, and was mustered into service August 29th, 152 men strong, Charles G. Cooley, Captain. The history of the Battery has been presented elsewhere;[2] here we may refer only to the campaigns in which Pitts' section served:

Sherman's expedition from Memphis to the Tallahatchie River, Mississippi, November 24–December 13, 1862.

Chickasaw Bayou, or First Vicksburg, December 21, 1862–January 1, 1863.

Arkansas Post, Arkansas, January 4–14, 1863.

Vicksburg, April 15–July 4, 1863.

Tentative movement through the Louisiana Teche country toward Opelousas, Louisiana, October 5– December 10, 1863.

Expedition to Matagorda Bay, Texas, December 26, 1863–February 28, 1864.

Red River expedition and Sabine Cross Roads (Mansfield, Louisiana), March 13–April 9, 1864.

Movement from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, against the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, ending at Pascagoula, Mississippi, November 27–December 31, 1864.

In a sense, with the coming of 1865, the war was over for Pitts and his Battery. Their lot from then on was pretty much garrison duty, disturbed only by the excitement of the mutiny, when the Battery refused to serve as infantry at Camp Parapet, New Orleans. But Pitts evidences no particular regret that the Battery's history comes to such a quiet close.

The Pitts diary, now in the manuscript collection of The Chicago Historical Society, consisted once of four small cloth-bound volumes. The third volume, covering the period July 1, 1864, to December 31, 1864, is missing. The chief event during this time in which the Battery participated was the raid made by General Davidson's cavalry force upon the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, the results of which were negligible.

In the editing of the three remaining volumes, I have employed dots to indicate portions omitted as lacking interest or pertinence;[3] square brackets have been used to enclose explanatory comment or additions. The spelling of Pitts has been preserved.

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2 A. J. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Chicago, 1885, 2. 282 ff.

3 The present edition represents roughly forty percent of the wordage of the extant diary.

I am happy here to express my thanks to The Chicago Historical Society for permission to publish these selections. To Mr. Paul Martineau, formerly Manuscript Librarian, and to Miss Elizabeth Baughman, Reference Librarian, I am deeply obligated for many kindly services.

LEO M. KAISER

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Selections from the Civil War Diary of Florison D. Pitts, Bugler, Chicago Mercantile Battery

[Chicago to Memphis]

Enlisted Aug. 23rd, 1862. Mustered into U. S. Service Aug. 29th, 1862.

Sat. Nov. 8th. Left Chi. at 2 o'clock P.M. Friends at cars to see us off. Reached Kankakee at dusk. Man in seat opposite of me took a buffalo robe and brought it into the cars.

Sun. Nov. 9th. Breakfast at Centralia. Rode on the guns a short distance. Engine gave out at Caloma [Dubois]. Sent back for another. A portion of the Co. got money at Caloma. Finally got off again.... Reached Cairo [Ill.] at 11 o'clock.

Monday, Nov. 10. Slept in cars night before with a stick of wood for a pillow. Took breakfast at St. Charles [Hotel]. Loaded our equipment on board the Str. *Diadem,* an old stern-wheeler. During the day visited the fortifications about the place; also the secesh prisons. Several gun boats in the river. Lots of big guns on the levee. Started for Columbus [Ky.] at 7 o'clock. Secured a berth on the *floor* of the boat with Sergt. [T. N.] Sickles.

Tuesday, Nov. 11. Awoke in the morning and found the boat lying at Columbus, Ky. Went ashore and got breakfast at a fourth-class restaurant. Saw Jim Morse there. Got trusted for breakfast. (Going to pay for it when I go back). Visited the fortifications on the bluffs.... Received orders to report at Memphis. Left for that place at 10 o'clock. Reached New Madrid, Mo. at dusk, and laid up for the night. Also passed Island No. 10 and gun boats *Louisville* and *Conestoga.*

Wednesday, Nov. 12th. Started down the river before daylight. Run aground 10 miles below New Madrid. On short rations. Noth-

ing to eat but hard crackers without coffee. We laid on the bar until 8 o'clock at night, when we went off with a jerk. Broke the big spar at the same time. Laid up for the night in the middle of the river. Thought the Rebs was going to attack us. Got the pistols all ready and filled the cannon with grape. Did not get woke up though.

Thursday, Nov. 13. Afloat again in the broad Mississippi. Nothing to eat as usual. Fired several rounds of shell from the guns. Put 3 shell in wrong end foremost. Reached Fort Pillow [Tenn.] at dusk. Captain put a guard around the boat. Jumped ashore and run the guard. Paid 10 cents for 6 apples. They came from the *Eugene,* which we passed sunk in the river to big hurricane deck. She [had] passed us while we were on the bar. At Ft. Pillow saw lots of contrabands, one of them just married. Quartermaster got provisions for us.

Friday, Nov. 14. All right again. Had breakfast of rice, beans, and coffee, the first since we left Columbus. Hove in sight of Memphis at 10 o'clock and landed at the dock at twenty minutes to two. . . .

Friday, Nov. 21st. Commenced getting material for building houses for winter quarters. Several brick houses in the course of construction.

Saturday, Nov. 22nd. Nothing of interest. At night went about a mile up the track, and tore down a house and barn for lumber to finish our houses with. Got back to camp all right. Used a hand car to take our things on.

Sunday, Nov. 23rd. Inspection of knapsacks and government clothing. Kept us in the hot sun about 3 hours. In the afternoon went over to the fairground and saw the review of troops under command of Gen. Smith.

Monday, Nov. 24th. Received marching orders. The boys had nearly got their shebangs completed when we were ordered off. Work was immediately suspended and we turned our attention to getting ready for the march. . . . Lips very sore. Could not blow the bugle. Stayed at Co. A's camp all night without leave.

Tuesday, Nov. 25th. . . . Lieut. [J. H.] Swan gave me fits for not cleaning my horse. Captain [C. G. Cooley] mad 'cause I did not ask his permission to leave camp. . . . Boys in good spirits. Burnt up some of the houses which was most done. Some of Co. A's boys came over to our camp. Went down to the Family Grocery and had a song.

[To the Tallahatchie River with Sherman]

Wednesday, Nov. 26th. Broke camp at daybreak and took up line of march for the sunny south. At noon we fed our horses and ourselves. At the 8 Mile Church got water for coffee out of the font of the church. Niggers were baptized in it the Sunday before. 113 Ill. Reg. on our right. Arrived at Germantown [Tenn.] at dusk. A hundred Rebel cavalry had passed through the town the night before towards Memphis. Went into camp two miles beyond at 9 o'clock. Slept without tents under the gun cover.

Thursday, Nov. 26th [27th]. Thanksgiving in the North. Got up at sunrise. Marched to Miss. state line and halted for feed in a planter's door yard, where the famous order was read about us charging on a hog pen. 2 hogs killed, none wounded. Stayed here 3 hours. Niggers had a dance. Gay old time all around. Started on our march about 3 o'clock. Fires all along the roads, caused by firing fences and gins. A planter's house was also burnt, including everything he had. Went into camp 2 miles from Coldwater, Miss. Supper off of hard bread and coffee. Lodging under a log.

Friday, Nov. 28th. Broke camp near Coldwater at 12 o'clock M. Passed many burning fences, "houses," also barns, out-houses, and everything that would burn was on fire. Passed a plantation "Massa." Said a woman belonging to the place "didn't belong to King Lincoln's army." At night marched until 12 o'clock. Went into park in a potato patch. Commenced to rain. Got our tent up and went to bed without any supper.

Sunday, Nov. 30. Bugle sounded at 4 o'clock. Started at 8 o'clock. Heavy firing ahead. Supposed to be in Grant's army at Abbeyville [Miss.] across the Tallahatchie. A soldier caught firing a cotton gin while the train was in motion sent to the rear to be tried by court martial. Train had to wait. Strung him up 3 times by the neck, but he would not tell anything. Went into camp in a cornfield near Chillahomi [Chulahoma, Miss.]. Got our tent nearly up when a terrible storm arose, and it required all of our combined efforts to keep it from falling over. Went to sleep on my blankets about 12 o'clock. It rained in torrents and blowed hurricanes. Tent came down with a crash, me under it. Got my blankets over me and laid there for 2 hours. Got drowned out. Went to the fire. Awful cold. Got 2 sticks and put under the tent. Got under and slept until morning. "Bully."

Monday, Dec. 1st. Had a light breakfast. The soldier that

burnt the gin was marched past our camp with a ball and chain on his legs and a placard on his back with "This is the man that burnt the gin" on it. . . . Boys went cramping. Got lots of good things. Killed some beef and hogs. Had good supper. Went to bed early, feeling well satisfied with things generally.

Tuesday, Dec. 2. . . . Genl. [A. J.] Smith came along and said that the "rebs" had left Abbeyville, burning all their stores, and gone south hell bent. One of our men (Ryan) had deserted and given information in regard to our movements. Reached Wyat [Wyatt] on the east bank of the Tallahatchie at 12 o'clock in a drenching rain. The "rebs" had cut the ferry, stopping our progress. Took up my quarters with Squad 1 in a fodder shed. Slept up in the rafters. The men were marched to the river to help build a bridge. Sent back; services not required.

Wednesday, Dec. 3rd. In fine spirits. Boys went foraging. Brought in molasses, sugar, meal. Turner brought in a jackass; also 210 lbs. of nails. Deserters came in from [Gen. Sterling] Price's army and gave themselves up.

Thursday, Dec. 4/62. Rained all day. Capt. and some of the boys went to Oxford with [Gen. W. T.] Sherman as a bodyguard. Boys went foraging and brought in 6 sheep, etc.

Friday, Dec. 5th. Turned out and blew reveille at 4 o'clock. Rainy, snowy, hail, cold, and nasty generally. Saddle all sleet. Like to froze. . . . Crossed the Tallahatchie. Mud very deep. Marched about 6 miles and went into camp at College Hill on brow of the hill. First rate place to camp. We were opposite to a large plantation. [S. F.] Denton and [Sykes] Hudson killed a hog. Denton hit himself in the head; cut himself very bad.

[Back to Memphis]

Wednesday, Dec. 10. Broke camp at Wyatt [Miss.] at 4 o'clock and marched to the forks of the road. Took the wrong road and had to back. Took this other road. After marching a short distance . . . found we had taken the right road at first. Had a fine day to march. . . .

Thursday, Dec. 11. Boys turned out at 3 o'clock. . . . Got to marching about 10 o'clock. Boys all mad because they had to get up so early. . . .

Saturday, Dec. 13. Rainy. Broke camp at 8 o'clock and marched into Memphis. Arrived at 11 o'clock. Very hungry. Bought 25c worth of gingerbread. Felt better. Received 5 letters from my wife

and one from mother. Mail contained 400 letters. Great joy in camp. . . .

Monday, Dec. 15th. Rained all night. Tent leaked like the D—l. Had to put 2 rubber blankets over me to keep off rain. Raining very hard today. Am wet through. Took possession of the Green home across the way from our camp. Old woman did not like it. Couldn't help it. Tent overflowed. Fellow went into niggers' quarters and said he would shoot them if they did not leave the tent. Tied the youth in the guard tent until morning.

Tuesday, Dec. 16th. Guns went down to the breast-works and fired 60 rounds of shot to an old hulk in the river.

Wednesday, Dec. 17th. Was reviewed by Genl. Smith, as also was his division. Was over to Co. A. Did not get back in time to go with them. Captain very mad.

Thursday, Dec. 18. Very nice day. Drawed a pair of boots, pants, and hat. Boots a mile to big for me. All the Lieuts. waited on captain, requesting him to resign. Commissioned and non-commissioned officers had a meeting in the evening about it. Man got his arm blowed off by premature discharge of cannon. Belonged to one of the Ohio batteries. . . .

Saturday, Dec. 20. Broke camp at 10 o'clock and marched to the levee. Staid on the levee all day and slept under the caisson, part of the time at the fire. . . . About 100 boats at wharf.

[Memphis to Chickasaw Bayou, Miss.]

Sunday, Dec. 21st. Got loaded on board the *Louisiana* at 12 o'clock M. Grand rush for sleeping rooms. Got a chance on the floor in a stateroom. Bbl. of apples broke open; got about 20 of them. Fleet started down river at 1 o'clock. Gun boat ahead. 16 boats in the fleet (our division). Passed wreck, *Beauregard,* and President's Island, 3 miles below Memphis. . . . Slept over the steam pipe. Hot as h—. . . .

Monday, Dec. 22. Awoke at 6 o'clock. Boat lying at dock at Helena. . . . Went ashore. . . . Got off at 5 o'clock and laid up for the night about 10 miles below Helena. Boys had a sing in the cabin. Some sung, others hooked apples.

Tuesday, Dec. 23rd. Got on our way about 4 o'clock. Passed the *Von Phul* and *War Eagle* laying up to the shore. Lots of building burning all round them. Breakfast on hard tack and coffee. Passed Napoleon [Ark.] at the mouth of the Arkansas River. At 1 o'clock tied up at Ogdensburg. Went on shore. Got pickles. Played cards all evening.

Wednesday, Dec. 24. Still at landing. Boys went ashore and jerked a lot of stuff: candles, molasses, coffee, preserves, etc. Got off at 1 o'clock p.m. Felt sick and went to bed early.

Thursday, Dec. 25. Christmas in the North, and how I wish I was there. Awoke at 8 o'clock. Boat at Milligen's Bend, 22 miles north of Vicksburg. Gun boats at work down the river. Boys been a-jerking as usual. Burning houses . . . in the distance. . . . 8 Mo. had a skirmish on the landing just before our boat got there. . . . One of the 31 Ia. got shot in the leg. False alarm. Regiments all turned out and went to find the fight. Captain ordered out the "Co." "Ergo" Capt. and d—n fool! Was taken with the ague.

Friday, Dec. 26th. Sick with fever all day. [Gen. S. G. Burbridge's] Brigade that was ordered out to cut the railroad [Shreveport & Vicksburg], communications, and destroy cotton, came back, having been entirely successful. 900 bales of cotton, 3 bridges burned. . . .

Saturday, Dec. 27th. Better. Got out into the cabin. Boat still at Mulligan's Bend. Took horses of[f] the boat to stretch themselves. Put them on board again in the afternoon. Boat got off at 3 o'clock and got into the Yazoo at 4 o'clock. Landed at the junction at Yazoo and Old River.

Sunday, Dec. 28th. Boys turned out at 2 o'clock. Started for the fight [Chickasaw Bayou] at 6. Heavy firing on the left and centre all day. Gun boat run up the Yazoo and tried to take the Ft. Got 7 ball[s] through her and 17 men killed. Col., N. Y. man, killed in charging up the hills.

Monday, Dec. 29th. Very heavy firing on the left all day. [Gen. Frank P.] Blair and [Col. J. F.] De Coursey's Brigades made terrific chgs up the bluff. Was driven back with loss. [Gen.] Morgan L. Smith was wounded in leading the 8th and 6th Mo. across the swamp in front of Co. A. Held position for some time but was finally compelled to abandon it and fall back again.

Tuesday, Dec. 30th. Heavy firing on the left all day.

Wednesday, Dec. 31. Went out to the battery. Found them guarding a road that lead up to Vicksburg. Fortifications are being erected in front of our battery, made of logs, 8 ft. high. . . . Abt 12 acres of fallen timber in front of our entrenchments.

Thursday, Jan. 1 [1863]. . . . Saw where our dead was buried, abt. 250 in one place. Our guns in position expt 2nd and 3. Saw Rebel fortifications on the bluffs. Saw place where Smith was wounded. Boys having a sing in the evening ordered to stop by the

Genl. A Happy New Year! Ordered to pack up as quickly and silently as possible. Was ready in 20 minutes for moving.

Friday, Jany. 2. Got to landing at 3 clk. Left our guns at the old landing, and then took our horses up the landing abt 2 miles and loaded them on the *Adriatic.* Got through at 6 clk, "tired," "hungry," and sleepy. . . . Roads awful. Gun boats shelling the fortifications when we started from the Yazoo. Started down the river at 12 o'clock, battery on the *Louisiana,* horses on *Adriatic.* Towed down the Yazoo by the *Louisiana* (our boat's engines being out of order) after very heavy rain storm.

Saturday, Jany. 3rd. Awoke at 7 o'clock. Rained all night very hard. Old boat leaked like the Devil. Arrived at Milligan's Bend at 9 o'clk. The shore lined with boats. Rained all day like everything. . . .

Sunday, Jany. 4th. . . . Boat still lying at the Bend. . . . Boys got at the whiskey and all got tight.

[To Arkansas Post]

Monday, Jany. 5th. Awoke at 6. Sun shining and clear sky. On our way up river, towed by the *Polar Star* and *Meteor.* Landed at 11 o'clk for wood. Boys went for the plantation and jerked every thing the man had. Capt. made us go ashore for rails. . . .

Tuesday, Jany. 6. Boat run all night. Stopped to wood at 10 o'clk. Col. [William B. Woods] of the 76 Ohio put a guard on secesh property. Boys run guard and got a lot of chickens, ducks, geese. Had to carry rails about a mile. Got off at 1 o'clk, landed at 2 miles up the river at another plantation. Col. put [Wm.] Munn under arrest for taking 2 chickens. Munn threw them on board and saved them. Col. made him carry rails for an hour. . . .

Wednesday, Jany. 7. Run all night. . . . Gun boat just above us threw a shell at some rebels said to be in the woods abt a half a mile from us. Caught up with the fleet at 4 o'clk.

Thursday, Jany. 8. Turned out at 7 o'clock. Raining hard. Boat laying up on the Miss. shore, 1 mile from White River. Ordered to leave the *Adriatic* and go on board the *Louisiana.* All of the Co. sick. All the sick of a regiment come on board and fill the cabin full. . . .

Friday, Jany. 9th. Laid up all night. Got into the White River at 1 o'clk. Whole fleet along. Run down the cut-off into the Ark. River.

Saturday, Jany. 10th. Fair day. 1st section of battery got off at Fletcher's Landing. . . . Started for the Ft. [Hindman] at 2 o'clock.

Gun boat at work on the fort. Passed through open ground and then in the woods. Heavy firing from gun boats. Abt 50 prisoners were brought past us. Taking their camps close to the Ft. Drove them all into the Ft. Camped in the woods. Slept under a tree. Cavalry run over me; moved and slept the rest of the night side of Denton. Moon shine very bright.

Sunday, Jany. 11. Awoke at 5 o'clk. Had a good sleep. Breakfast on crackers and coffee. Morning very fair. Infantry moving by us all night. Started at 8 o'clock and moved through the woods within sight of the Ft. At 1:15 moved within 300 yds of the fort and commenced firing. Dismounted 2 guns, and 4 o'clk white flag run on the Ft. Lieut. [D. R.] Crego hit by a pce of shell and coporal Gardner got a pce in his leg. . . .

Monday, Jany. 12. Laid on the battle field. Went over the fortifications; saw secesh dead. . . . Dead horse abt 6 ft. from where I slept. 3 regiments captured this morning; also 2 transports and 2 regiments that were to reinforce the Ft. . . . .

Wednesday, Jany. 14. Rained all night, got wet through. Stayed in the rain all forenoon. Went on board the *Ohio Belle* and got out of rain. Cold and wet. Made up our bed for the night on the bank. Boat come along; was going on board, but a regiment of infantry got on board ahead of us. Prospect: sleep out doors in the rain, or find some better place. Took our blankets on board the *Ohio Belle* and slept under the boilers.

[Back to Milliken's Bend]

Thursday, Jany. 15. Awoke at daylight after a good night's sleep. Ground covered with snow. Still snowing. No breakfast. Got on board the *Louisiana.* Infantry took up all the cabin and every thing else. Got a chance to sleep in the stern of the boat. Lucky. Snowed all day; raw, cold night. Boys like to froze. Wrote to mother. Boat started down river at 3 o'clock.

Friday, Jany. 16. Cold as the devil; sun shines once in a while. Boat stopped 2 or 3 times to wood up. Got into cut-off at 2 o'clk. Got into White River shortly after and the Miss. the same day.

Saturday, Jany. 17. Ran down the Miss. from the mouth of the White River to Napoleon [Ark.]. Cold as thunder. . . . Got a letter from mother with $5.00 in it. Never felt so good in my life as when I found I had some money; also postage stamps. Run along side of the *Adriatic.*

Sunday, Jany. 18. Boat laid at Napoleon all day. Part of fleet

went down river. One of the new moniters passed us in the forenoon. . . .

Monday, Jany. 19. Started from Napoleon at daylight. Co. mustered on deck for the new orders and appoinments. Genl. [Peter J.] Osterhouse order congratulating our battery on its good conduct in the Bat. of Ark. Post. . . .

Wednesday, Jan. 21. . . . Passed Lake Providence [La.] in the morning; arrived at Millikin's Bend in the afternoon. Rumor Gen. [N. P.] Banks below Vicksburg [in Louisiana] giving the rebels thunder. Passed the Bend. Don't know where we are going. . . .

Sunday, Jany. 25. . . . Charley Lewis died this morning at 5 o'clock. Wadsworth detailed to go to Chicago with the body. Cop. Goodrich detailed to go to Memphis with the sick. Went into camp a mile from the boats. . . .

Thursday, Jany. 29. Five months today since we were mustered into U. S. Service. Got a letter from mother containing stamps and a V. Heavy firing down river. One of our transports ran by the Vicksburg batteries. Had 117 shots fired at her. Only 12 took effect, not causing any serious damage. . . .

Monday, Feby. 2nd. Heavy firing down river, direction of Vicksburg. Since learned that it was caused by the *Queen of the West* [Col. Charles R. Ellet] running the blockade around the Point, destroying two transports and a Rebel gun. *Queen of the West* is now lying at the mouth of the canal [opposite Vicksburg].

Tuesday, Feby. 3rd. Bleak and cold. Nothing occurred to break the monotony of camp life. . . .

Thursday, Feby. 5th. Cold as Jehu. Laid in tent all day with a hot brick at my feet and a blanket over me. . . .

Saturday, Feby. 14th. Steamer or gun boat *Indianola* [Lt.–Com. George Brown] run the blackade on the night of the 13th about 12 o'clock. Tremendous firing of artillery by the Rebels in their vain endeavors to stop her. Mail came today. No letters for me. . . .

Sunday, Feby. 22nd. Our battery fired a salute in honor of the day, Genl. [A. J.] Smith commanding. . . .

Wednesday, Feby. 25th. . . . Heavy firing down river in the night, caused by a flat boat drifting past the Reb batteries. She was sent down by the 6th and 8th Missouri Inf. boys.

Thursday, Feby. 26th. Rained all day. Regular hurricane in afternoon. Read my Bible all day. . . .

Monday, Mch. 2. . . . Received orders to blow bugle calls as follows: reveille, 6:30 a.m.; roll call, 7; feed call directly after roll

call; guard mount, 8; doctor's call, 9; water, 9:30; feed call, 12; water, 4 p.m.; feed call, 5:30; retreat, roll call, sunset; tattoo, 9; taps, 9:30.

Tuesday, Mch. 3rd. . . . Mindsen and myself built a table for our tent. Bully thing it is, to; also an arm chair made out of a barrell.

Wednesday, Mch. 4th. Went down to the lower landing. Bought butter, cheese, onions, molasses, potatoes, and biscuit. . . . Heavy firing at canal caused by our men planting some new guns so as to command the river about the Point, and in order to get the range. Boys worked all day on a ditch which will drain the camp. 17th Ohio Battery lost 4 horses from distemper.

Thursday, Mch. 5th. Awoke with a headache. . . Was sick all day. . . .

Friday, Mch. 6th. . . . Bought a hen for 25c. Lieut of the 77th Ill. was in camp and said that the water was to be let into the canal on Sunday. Had roast beef and potatoes for dinner. . . .

Sunday, Mch. 8. Four months today since leaving Chicago. . . . Got 2 large pieces of wood, picked up in the 54 Indiana Reg. Was not allowed to take it away. . . . Went bathing with Throop and Mendsen in afternoon. Rumor that we are going up river tomorrow. . . . 3rd Missouri came up from canal where they were drowned out by the water and camped side of us. A report in camp that water has broken through the canal and cannot be stopped. . . .

Saturday, Mch. 14th. . . . Sick all day. . . . Mail came; no letters for me. . . .

Monday, Mch. 16th. Weather hot and sultry. Laid in bed part of the day. Got up in the afternoon; helped to get supper, and had a game of catch. . . . Report that we are to have a mail in the morning; hope it may be true. Wrote to Jennie and sent her $10.00.

Tuesday, Mch. 17th. . . . Weather very warm. Boys had a dance by moonlight to the merry music of the contraband's fiddle. . . .

Wednesday, Mch. 18th. . . . Heavy firing in direction of Vicksburg. Mendsen went after a beef. Got a horn to[o] much and came back with seat of his pants ripped open double quick.

Friday, Mch. 20th. . . . Heavy firing in direction of Vicksburg. Rumor that 2 of Farragut's gun boats [*Hartford* and *Albatross*] have got up from down below. . . .

Saturday, Mch. 21st. . . . Heavy firing all day in direction of Vicksburg. Drew a hat and haversack. Rumor that we are going to move in a few days. Tried on my new boots; fit first rate. . . .

Sunday, Mch. 22nd. . . . Boats containing the Marine Brigade went by today, five transports all alike. Heavy firing at Vicksburg all day.

Monday, Mch. 23. . . . Heavy firing at Vicksburg all day. Boys went down with the sick horses to turn them over for better ones. Westbrook's horse fell into the ditch and covered him all over mud.

Tuesday, Mch. 24. Hurricane in the morning. Rain filled some of the tents and drowned the boys out. . . . Willson is trying to learn Mendsen euchre.

Wednesday, Mch. 25th. . . . The *Henry von Phul* came down from Napoleon with a drove of cattle. . . . A man sick with smallpox on levee in front of our camp all day. Waiting for the smallpox hospital to come along and take him off. Was vaccinated in the morning. . . .

Sunday, Mch. 29. Last night at 12 o'clock out tent pole broke and tent came down with a crash. Mendsen and I stayed in the tent until morning. Blowed a hurricane all night. Blew down the smoke stack of the *Universe* and raised cane generally. . . .

Wednesday, Apr. 1st. Cool and clear. Went down to 77 [Illinois] sutler's. Got some crackers and butter. A large body of troops passed by on the levee, their destination said to be Richmond [La.], a town 12 miles in the interior. . . .

Saturday, Apr. 4. . . . Had the pleasure of talking with Genl. [A. J.] Smith. I asked him if we could take down a covering to a cistern to build a shebang of, and the only reply he made me was "NO." Very interesting conversation indeed.

Sunday, Apr. 5th. Got a pass and went out beyond the pickets some 7 miles. Stopped at a plantation belonging to Gibson. Nobody at home but the niggers, abt 75 in number. Gibson had skedaddled to the interior. Passed on to the next which is also owned by Gibson. No white people around. 3rd plantation formerly occupied by a Dr. Mitchell who has taken bag and baggage and travelled for parts unknown. 4th plantation the owner had gone to Richmond in the morning with one of the ladies of the house. Soldiers had taken all of their cattle, and they did not have anything to eat. 5th place we got some sweet milk. 6th plantation owned by man who had deserted the place, leaving his niggers to take care of themselves. House furnished beautifully. Furniture had been all smashed up by our soldiers. Made the negroes get us a dinner; paid them in tobacco and whiskey. Dr. Dancey's was the next place we went to. Had a long talk with the Dr. and his wife. We were treated to

buttermilk, and had a boquet of flowers given to each of us. After enjoying ourselves hugely we took our leave. Bought 10 chickens of the niggers and paid 2/ apiece: $1 in green backs and the remainder in secesh money, which the Dr. said was as good for them as any other money. Put the chickens in a bag and turned our faces home. Passed Genl. [John A.] McClernand and wife riding out in a chaise. . . .

Wednesday, Apr. 8th. . . . Went about 2 miles up the levee to get to the parade ground. Troops were inspected by Genl. McClernand and Genl. Smith. 8000 men and 2 batteries were present. Got my picture taken; cost me a dollar.

Thursday, Apr. 9th. . . . Had a grand review at Grant's headquarters. Was reviewed by Grant and McClernand. . . . 14 regts. and 2 bats. reviewed. . . .

Friday, Apr. 10. . . . Had my picture taken. Wrote to mother and sent my likeness. Put oil into "Jack's" ears to prevent the gnats from troubling him. . . .

Saturday, Apr. 11. . . . Turned over our Sibley tents and got 18 Bell tents. Worked very hard getting up our new tents. Had a little whiskey in the afternoon. . . .

Sunday, April 12. Rained all night; awful muddy in our camp. Worked all forenoon making a set of furniture for our *parlor.* Had preaching in camp by the chaplain of the 77 Regt. Ill. Vol. Text: "For what shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul." Went down to the *Pembina* and got shaved and hair cut. . . .

Monday, Apr. 13. Laid in bed all forenoon. Eat no breakfast or dinner. Rained all day. Hanson and Dalbee came over and we played 7 up until tattoo. Marching orders were read today; one brigade to move at 9, and the second to move at 12 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Tuesday, Apr. 14. Rained all night. Water 2 inches deep in our tent. The roads in such state that our B. could not move today; will probably go tomorrow. . . . Bought the *Chi. Tribune* of the 9th.

[To Hard Times Landing, La.]

Wednesday, Apr. 15. Reveille at daylight. Struck tents at 7 o'clock. Marched 12 miles. Camped ½ mile from Richmond. Roads awful muddy. Slept under the tarpolean. Capt. [P. H.] White sick. Slept side of me. Baggage wagons stuck in the mud 3 miles back. . . .

Thursday, Apr. 16. Got to marching at 8 o'clock. Detail sent back to get the baggage wagons out of the mud. Marched all day. Went into camp on McFarland's Plantation. Passed through Holmes' Plantation. Big mill and large engine in it. Our men running the mill to make boats to cross the bayous in. Made 10 miles today. Got a beef out of one of the fields which Tom Butters slaughtered when we got into camp. McFarland's boy, 17 years old, had run the niggers, 17 in number, and mules, 20 in number, back into the swamp, where we could not get at them. Said to have a box, contents not known, buried somewhere on the plantation.

Friday, Apr. 17. Moved our camp across the road into a camp just vacated by the infantry. Some 8 or 10 ovens in the camp which come very handy.... Heavy firing at Vicksburg all night.

Saturday, Apr. 18. Hot as the devil. Went bathing in the bayou....

Monday, Apr. 20. Hot as thunder. Went bathing in the bayou.

Tuesday, Apr. 21. Clear and cold.... Had a game of 7 up. In the afternoon played authors' game.... Heard that we are defeated at Charlestown. Gun boats and transports are going to run blockade tonight at Vicksb. Troops below us all gone to [New] Carthage [La.].

Wednesday, Apr. 22. ... Heavy rain all night. Boys in the 130 [Ill.] killed an alligator in the bayou, 4 feet long. Played euchre in orderlies' tent in evening....

Thursday, Apr. 23. ... Very heavy firing at Vckg. all night, caused by our boats running the blockade. 6 transports said to have gone by in safety. One was sunk. Estimated that 600 shots must have been fired. Went down to bayou and had a swim.... Played cards all forenoon. In afternoon took a nap. In evening boys reading *The Federalist* out loud.

Friday, Apr. 24, 1863. Marching orders at 5 o'clock, P.M. Got off at 9 o'clock. Went 6 miles and went into camp for the night. Went to bed at 2 o'clock a.m. under a large tree. Slept with the Cap....

Sunday, Apr. 26. ... [Gen I. F.] Quinby division passed our camp today. In afternoon got the tent up and was already for the storm that was rising, when orders came for us to hitch up and travel in an hour. Steam boats were carrying troops from the place where we was encamped to Carthage. Warm. Started abt 8 o'clock [P. M.] and abt an hour after rain came down in torrents. Roads got muddy. The night was awful dark. The thunder and lightning was

incessant. Went abt 4 miles and camped in cornfield along side of fence.

Monday, Apr. 27. . . . Mud, mud, mud. Made 3 miles and camped in the woods of a La. bottom. Rained all day. . . .

Tuesday, Apr 28. Reveille at 3 o'clock. Got off at 7 o'clock. Horses had no breakfast. Crossed bridge no. 3 and marched to Perkins' Plantation where we cooked dinner. The plantation is on the river—Mississippi. The road we came lay around the bayou and the rain had made the roads awful muddy. [Gen. A. P.] Hovey's division passed us at this place. On the march again at 5 o'clock p.m. Road lay on the levee of the Miss. for some ways, after which it lay along a bayou which passes through the most beautiful country I ever saw. Travelled 6 miles. Went into camp at 10 o'clock in the middle of the road. Slept under the caison. . . .

Wednesday, Apr. 29. Reveille at 3 o'clock. Marched at 5 o'clock a.m. In the afternoon stopped abt 3 hours to cook 3 days rations. Ordered to leave knapsacks behind; also left 2 guns and caissons, all of the wagons, battery wagon, and forge. Went on the levee at abt 5 miles to Hard Times Landing. Went into camp side of levee. Went down to the river and saw the transports run the blackade at Grand Gulf [Miss.]. 6 transports got by all right; 5 or 6 gun boats also. Left our tents with the wagons. Slept in the open air. Dew fell very heavy.

Thursday, Apr. 30. . . . Gun boats and transports loaded with troops cross the river and landed on the Miss. shore at Bruinsburg, 5 miles below Hard Times Landing. Hitched up in the afternoon and went down to boats that was to take us across. Laid down on the levee and slept about 2 hours. Got loaded at abt 12 o'clock p.m. Night cold and windy. Left my overcoat with my knapsack. Had nothing to put over me. I thought I would freeze. Laid down in the dirt and tried to sleep. Could not go to sleep. Felt as if I had a bushel of dirt on me.

[Bruinsburg to Vicksburg]

Friday, May 1. Landed at Bowlinsburg [Bruinsburg], Miss, about 2 o'clock a.m., and got unloaded at daylight to the road to Port Gibson, over bluffs and hills, through valley and dales, over ditches, bridges, and every thing else that came in our way. Had gone abt 4 miles when heavy cannonading in front caused us to move on at the double quick. After going 10 miles, came up to the battlefield [Port Gibson]. Was immediately placed on the

extreme right and fired a few shell into the woods. Heavy fighting on the left and centre all day. Enemy 11,000 strong. Took 4 pieces cannon, 500 prisoners. Loss to us 100 killed, 800 wounded. Battle commenced at 2 a.m. and ceased at 7 p.m.

Saturday, May 2nd. Slept last night on the battlefield alongside of our pieces. At 3 o'clock this morning the pickets discharged their pcs and rushed into camp. It proved, however, to be a false alarm. Went to bed and slept until morning. Our line of battle was formed and we commenced hunting for the enemy. After marching some time found that the Rebs had retreated the night before at 7 o'clock. Our division [10th, A. J. Smith's] had the advance and occupied Port Gibson at 9 o'clock. Found the Rebs had burned the bridge across the bayou [South Fork of Bayou Pierre] in their retreat. Threw some shells across the river into the woods. Boys jerked every thing they wanted from the stores. Got a bridge built across the bayou abt 5 o'clock. Troops were crossing up to 8 o'clock. Our division was left in the town over night. Slept in an old house, first rate place. . . .

Sunday, May 3rd. Reveille at 3½ o'clock. Got ready to march at 7 o'clk. Marched 8 miles and went into camp on the north side of the Bayou Pierre at Grind Stone Ford. Rebels had burned the bridge across the bayou, so we had to ford it. Day was very warm and roads awful dusty. . . .

Monday, May 4. Still at the bridge. Boys went foraging. Brought in 6 horses, 4 mules, a wagon, 27 hams, and 5 niggers. Day very warm. Went bathing in the bayou.

Tuesday, May 5. . . . Went in swimming 2 or 3 times, and read *Jacob Faithful* all the rest of the time.

Wednesday, May 6. Camp life as usual. . . . Went in bathing. Lent Prior my horse to go in to the country to see some of his former sweethearts. . . .

Thursday, May 7. . . . Slept in an old wagon all night. Prior came back to camp without my horse. Said he was stolen the night before. Had to ride an old crow bate all day. Marched 10 miles. Went through Rocky Springs. Camped a mile on the other side of the town. . . .

Saturday, [May] 16. Started at 7 o'clk and marched on good roads. At 10 o'clock commenced marching carefully. The enemy in front. A heavy battle [Champion's Hill] raged on our right 4 to 5 hours. Reported that a battery and 1000 prisoners were captured. Blount's Battery [17th Ohio] opened fire but were driven

back by a Rebel battery. Retired a few rods and took a new position. After remaining here 1½ hours we moved forward in a great hurry, leaving caisons behind. After moving over several hills we took position on a small hill. Remained here but a short time when the right section was ordered to a high hill in front. Had hardly got into position when a whole battery opened fire onto us, filling the air with grape and cannister, wounding Adams, Cop. [C. P.] Hazeltine, and killing 4 [?] of our horses. Capt. White stood up like a hero, coolest man I ever saw. Said that we killed Rebel Genl. [Lloyd] Tiglman [Tilghman]. Battle closed at night and went to bed tired and sleepy.

Sunday, May 17. Started early, feeling our way. Found the enemy gone, having left all their caissons and a number of cannon behind, also a large number of wagons. Saw some of their wounded near the road. After marching 6 or 8 miles heard a battle [Big Black River] raging in front. We moved to the left, and on reaching the scene of action, found the enemy gone, leaving a splendid line of cotton breastworks, 2 miles long; also 10 splendid cannon with equipment and ammunition. Also 1 regiment, 60th Ten. prisoners. Genl. Osterhaus wounded. Left section . . . was ordered to the front to shell the woods across the river to protect the advance of our troops. Went with them as No. 7. After firing some time, the centre section was ordered down. After firing some 150 rounds, was ordered back and got into camp for the night.

Monday, May 18. Started at 9 o'clk and crossed the Big Black. Found tents standing and muskets burning. Roads very dusty. Camped on a hill about dark. Day's move brought us within 5 or 6 miles of Vicksburg. Very large fire in Vicksburg.

Tuesday, May 19. Started at 8 o'clk. Moving slowly until noon when we came in sight of the fortification of Vicksburg. Formed line of battle in a cornfield. Afterwards moved forward into the road and [Capt. Jacob T.] Foster's Battery commenced firing over us. Rebel shell landed [?] near us. Moved back gun No. 1. . . Took position on a hill and fired at their fort.

Seige of Vicksburg. Commenced on the 19th day of May. Charge made on the 22nd at 10 o'clock. Capitulated on the 4th of July to Genl. Grant. 27,000 prisoners, 102 guns, 30 siege guns, and 50,000 muskets fell into our hand. Also 1 Lieut. Genl., 4 Major Genls., and 130 Col., 30 locomotives, and any amt. of ammunition. . . . Went to hospital on the 4th. . . . Went from division to corps hospital on the 17th. . . .

[*July*] *27th.* . . . We are now encamped on the bank of the Miss., ready to move at 10 o'clk. Got a box from home; lot of good things. . . . Moved back from the river and went into park at foot of the bluffs. Dam poor place. . . . Wrote to H. A. Pitts & Co. for some money. Have not had a cent for 10 weeks. Most — — hard up. . . . The B[attery] tight as a peep. . . . Mrs. Turner brought down some ale. Have had a — good time Since it has been here been tight as a peep all the time.

[*July*] *28th.* . . . Boys in the tent arguing like thunder about McClellan and other Eastern generals. Sykes Hudson for Mc, and all the rest of the boys against him. . . . Quite cool tonight. Got some mighty good ale; got tight. . . .

[*July*] *29th.* . . . Boys having a great time over enlisting in the Veteran Corps. Men who enlist from the volunteer service into the regular service for 3 years are allowed 60 days furlough and $400 bounty. Rumor that we are going to Natchez in course of ten days. . . . A beautiful night. Can see to read by moonlight. Just such nights as I used to spark Jennie in. Eleven months today since we were mustered into the U. S. Service. Had codfish for dinner and apple sauce for supper. . . .

[*July*] *31st.* . . . Day awful warm. Was taken sick with dysentery. . . . Had inspection of the whole division at 6 o'clock. Full moon and band playing in the distance. . . .

Aug. 1st. . . . Got some lemon syrup from Sanitary Stores. . . . Report that Gen. [E. O. C.] Ord has gone to Nacthez [*sic*] with one brigade. A fleet of boats came up from New Orleans. One is said to have Genl. Banks on board. . . . Moon up and bright. We got drunk.

Aug. 2. . . . Hot as damnation. . . . Got some medicine of Gil Stees for dysentery. . . . Saw some of the water batteries in front of the seminary, now a Rebel hospital. Mother sent me a rubber blanket, 2 shirts, 6 prs stockings, and lots of other things besides. . . .

Aug. 3. . . . Went down to the river and took a bath. . . . Awful warm all day. Order read about enlisting in the Veterans Corps. Very sick in afternoon. . . .

Aug. 4th. Sick. Boys went down to the city to get their pay. Did not go with them. . . . Hot as the devil. Got 6.00, all my pay for May and June. Boys playing poker all over camp. Paid squad 1.00; paid Mendsen 5.00; paid [S. L.] Parker 2.00. Borrowed 5.00 from Elijah. . . . Received a letter from H. A. Pitts & Co. enclosing 25.00. Paid Elijah $5.00 that I owed him. Gave away a

pr of drawers and 2 shirts; also a gov. shirt to make room in my knapsack for new things I got from mother. A lot of transports laying at landing (Elliot's Gorilla Fleet). Brigade of Hovey's division loading on to the boats. Dr. Turner and wife had quite a sing tonight. . . .

Aug. 7th. . . . Still on the sick list. . . . Bot a bottle of pickles, 75c. Went to sutler's in the evening; bot some milk, 75c; apple butter, 1.00. Made some milk toast for supper. . . .

Aug. 8th. . . . Got an awful bad belly ache this morning. Went to sutler's: honey, 75c; crackers, 25c; oysters, 60c; butter 62½c. . . . Boys in squad 5 playing poker and gambling generally. . . .

Aug. 9th. Day clear and warm. Breeze from the river. Lot of the boys down town to church. Went down to landing. A large number of boats. Saw the *Conestoga* and 2 other gun boats. Hay barge upset, and a large lot of bales went down river. Nigger on 2 bales out in the river, trying to get bales in by paddling with his hands. Somebody threw him a board. Came away; don't know whether he get them ashore or not. Saw a lot of 15-inch mortar shells (abt 3000) and a number of mortars. . . .

Aug. 10. . . . Commenced duty today. [Lieutenant P. S.] Cone lent a hd.quarter nigger my horse to go into the country with. Trouble in camp about officer eating private's rations. Went in swimming in the evening. . . .

Aug. 11. . . . Milk toast for breakfast. Milk, 30c; butter, 50c; potatoes, 25c; 4 ale, 50c. Went in swimming in afternoon. Wrote to mother in afternoon. Drunk 20c worth of lemonade for 50c. Lot of troops went down river today. Sent an order to Osgood for my flute; also a note to Jennie to give it to him. Sent 2.00 for some books. . . .

Aug. 12. . . . Went down town in afternoon. Got shaved; cost me before I got out of the shop 1.35. Got an ambrotype taken; cost me 1.25. Changed our old brass 6 pdr guns for 10 pdr Parrots. All four taken from the Rebs. Saw a park of about 100 guns captured from the Rebs in recent operations. In town at the corner of every block is a high embankment to mount guns on in case we got into the city. Sun awful hot. . . . Genl. Grant and one of his staff rode by camp tonight. One of our new guns is the *Lady Price* of Black River notoriety. . . .

Sunday, Aug. 16. Morning very warm and sultry. Went to Presbyterian Church some 3 miles from camp. Walked all the way, half of the way through the hot sand. I never suffered so with

heat in my life. Thermometer stood I should think at about 125°. Dyer played organ. . . .

Aug. 17. . . . In afternoon went up town. Saw the bully guns of Vicksburg: the *Lady Davis,* a smooth bore of about 164 pounder; the other the *Tennessee,* a very rifled gun—I should think a hundred pounder. They command the point. Rode around town. Got served lemonade and piece of pie. Played a game of billiards with Harnet. . . .

Aug. 19. City of Madison blew up her boiler, caused by droping percussion shell. She was the Corps' Ordhance Boat. Out on poker 1.20; apple, .05. Some 20 lives lost on the boat that blew up. . . . A citizen found behind the 17 Ohio Battery dead. Supposed to be killed by the 3 Missouri Cavalry.

Aug. 20th. . . . Dr. Turner commenced an application on the inside of my throat for some disease that makes my throat sore. Used a solution of silver. I have had a very sore throat for a long time. . . .

Aug. 23rd. Day very warm, 112° in the shade. . . . Got order to march tomorrow. Got shaved, 10c. Made a pair of leather suspenders. One yr. today since I enlisted. . . .

[From Vicksburg to New Orleans]

Aug. 25. . . . Got orders to move on board boat at 11 o'clock. . . . The boat's name is *The Atlantic,* a very large boat. 2 regiments and our battery are loaded on her. . . . Gilbert, Coates, and several others drunk as the d—l. . . .

Aug. 26. Clear and warm. Boat left Vicksburg at 1 o'clock. . . . Boys got at some contraband whiskey and all got drunk. Tom Egan would not do what he was bid, and got tied up for it. Passed Natchez at ½ past eleven. . . . Out of 13 boxes of wine the owner got but two. Miss. side all bluffs, La. side low ground. Got to the mouth of Red River at 4 o'clock. Gun boats *Chocktaw* and *Osage* laying at the mouth. . . .

Aug. 27. . . . Got to Baton Rouge about 12 o'clk. Ground low on both sides of river. Sugar plantations all around. . . . Got to Carrollton at 10 o'clock. Carrollton is 8 miles above N. O. Connects by R. R. Fare 10 cents. Can get anything you want to eat at reasonable rates. Went into camp about ¾ mile from town. . . .

Aug. 28. . . . Put up tents, made bunks. Drank lemonade and lager and other things to numerous to mention. . .

Aug. 29th. . . . Went out on review under Genl. Banks. Large number of troops, 13 Army Corps complete, on review, about 20,000.

Sykes [Hudson] and myself got a pass and went down to New Orleans. Had a gay old time. . . .

Aug 30th. Felt sick all day. . . .

Aug. 31. . . . Went down to pedlar's stand and got breakfast. Mustered for pay this morning. Shilling pretty tight; could whip the whole squad.

Sept. 1. . . . Went down to New Orleans. Walked around all day. Saw New York steamer *Evening Star,* an English man-of-war, and a steamer from France. Went to the St. Charles Hotel. Took street cars and went down to cemetery. Saw a little musquito gun boat. Saw a carriage full of men and women, all drunk, having a gay old time. Got dinner; cost 1.25. Came back in 4 o'clock train. Genl. [C. C.] Washburn came down to the battery. Got some new tarpolean. Went in swimming in the evening.

Sept. 2nd. . . . Slept nearly all day. Horses with harness on all day, expecting Genl. [M. K.] Lawler to review us. [J. W.] Arnold had some good whiskey. Rumor that our division is to garrison New Orleans. . . .

Sept. 4. Clear and warm. Ordered to be ready for review by Genl. Grant at 8 o'clock. Got out on the field at the time appointed. . . . Ordered to sound the commence-firing call when the Genl. came onto the field. Went over to the color stand and blowed it. Large number of citizens of N. O. came out to see the review. Was reviewed by Genl. Grant, Banks, and staffs. My horse got his foot over the halter and nearly sawed his hind foot off. Boys all off to New Orleans, 1st Division of our Army Corps [the 13th] is crossing the river this afternoon on a transport. Laid abed all afternoon and read Genl. Grant's report on the siege of Vicksburg. 13th Army Corps: Maj. E. O. C. Ord, Corps Commander; 1st Division, Maj. Genl. C. C. Washburn; 2 Division, Maj. Genl. [F. J.] Herron; 3rd Division, Maj. Genl. Hovey; 4 Division, Brig. Genl. Burbridge. The Mercantile Battery is in the 2nd Brigade of the 4th Division. . . . Genl. Grant in turning a corner quite suddenly ran into a carriage that was coming the other way. Was thrown from his horse and hurt very bad. Report that Sumpter is taken. Boys all yelling like devils. . . .

Sept. 6th. . . . Went in swimming in the morning. Changed my cream for a brown horse. Judson got old man Benson to fighting Arnold. Went to city. Went to the *Pensacola* to get situation as Bugler. Could not get transferred.

Sept. 7th. Went down to New Orleans with Geo. Throop. Had

a game of billiards at the St. Charles. Rolled 2 games of ten pins. Had 2 doz. of oysters. Took street cars and went up Canal Street to cemeteries and canals. Went to Lake Pontchartrain by boat. Went in swimming in the lake. Got some salt water in my mouth; made me sick. Was fishing for crabs. Caught a large number. . . .

Sept. 8th. . . . Weather hot and sultry Don't get half enough to eat. Bought a piece of pie with postage stamps. Horses get 2 feeds of oats a day. Eating ropes, posts, and anything they can get at, they are so hungry.

Sept. 9th. Went to town and played seven games of billiards at the St. Charles. Got back at 5 o'clock. Chase Dickinson came back from the north and brought me a letter from Jennie, my flute, and a book for flute. Played on it all the evening. Got Jennie's picture also by Dickinson. 11th Indiana Band out serenading in the evening. Eat 4 plates of ice cream. Got snubbed in the street cars. Wanted to hand up a girl's fare and she would not let me—reason, *I suppose,* because she was secesh and I was a Union soldier. . . .

Sunday, Sept. 13/63. Rations all gone; nothing but bread and coffee. Do not draw any more rations until day after tomorrow. . . . All of our Corps gone except our Division. Went to Carrollton Depot in the evening; got a glass of wine. . . . Wrote nearly all day. . . .

Sept. 15th. . . . Lots of bands practicing in the woods, making the morning hideous with the *joyful* notes. Slept all the afternoon. Rumor that our troops and the Eastern troops were fighting with each other. Orders to be ready to march between now and Sunday night. Report that we are going to Sabine Lake, Texas.

Sept. 16. . . . Dyer and myself called on one of the town people who had a piano, and amused ourselves for some time at music. Spent my last 5 cents today. Flat broke. Had fish for dinner. Reported a sore throat to Dr. Turner. . . . A good many musketoes around last night. Boys in squad 1st tent had a heavy old sing in their tent. A lot of squad 3rd boys went down town, got dinner, and did not pay for it. . . .

Sept. 17. . . . Squad 1's gun had to go to river to stop a boat to send forage up to Herron's army. . . . Tom Egan, squad 1, has got *tinctured.* . . . Went down town on the 2 o'clock train and called on Mrs. —— and daughter. Girl in Baton Rouge. Had quite a play on the flute. Dyer played the piano. Col. Jones called while we were there. They had two splendid pianos. Old lady very garrulous. Went to St. Charles and got a good supper. St. Charles Billiard Saloon. Got a cigar. . . .

Sept. 18. It was very warm when I went to bed. Musquitos were very thick, and prickly heat bothered me almost to death. . . . Train of cars ran over one of our mules and broke his leg; had to kill him. Captain sent in his resignation and then revoked it. Set by the fire and told stories in the evening. . . .

Sept. 19. . . . Did not get to sleep until 4 o'clock this morning. Did not get up to roll call. Read *The Shell Hunters* or *An Ocean Love Chase*. . . . Joe Bar[r] got back from a two day's tight down to New Orleans. Got a —— [?] from Dr. Turner to wash my throat with. Niggers had a dance in front the Capt.'s quarters until after ten o'clock.

Sept. 20th. Slept first rate. Did not get out to roll call. Dr. applied some medicine for my throat. . . . Splendid today; quite cool and not a cloud to be seen. We are encamped in a most lovely place in a grove of very large pecan trees. The moss hanging from each limb give the place a most unique appearance. At night the owl's hoot most musical. "Mast" Dickinson and myself took a walk down town. When we came back we had a grand revival, Dick. leader of the choir.

Sept. 21. . . . Went with Dyer and [J. C.] Lee and heard a young lady sing and play on the piano. Came home about ten o'clock. Was very tired.

Sept. 22nd. Woke up in the middle of the night and found that my bed fellow had unfortunately been taken sick, and I found that I had the effects of it on my drawers. It *smelt very bad*. . . . Throop and myself went to New Orleans. . . . Went down Basin and Circus Street. Saw some of the sights. Got some oysters. Came home with a sick headache. . . . Boys went out hooking oranges. Drew a lot of new saddles. Start for Texas the last of the week.

Sept. 23rd. . . . Found a lizard under my pillow. Day quite cool. Took a dose of salts in the afternoon. . . . Boys Squad 4 out jerking potatoes last night. Boys in Squad One's shebang making an awful noise at night. Genl. Burbridge sent an order for them to stop.

Sept. 24th. . . . Did not sleep very well last night. Got a fever and slight headache today. Dr. gave me quinine to take; dose: 2 gr. every 3 hours. A fish peddlar came into camp with 13 fish in a cart. Boys stole all of his fish and tipped over his cart. Fit my saddle to my horse. Had fish and potatoes for dinner. Took a ride down to Carrollton. Got a sore behinder in consequence.

Sept. 25. Parker, Dyer, Robb, and myself called on Miss Pfranz

in the evening and had a sing. Squad 4 boys out foraging and the patrols took after them. Did not catch them. . . .

Sept. 26th. . . . Sewed up my pants. Sick in the afternoon. . . . Called on Miss Pfranz. . . . Lost my keys in Miss Pfranz' piano.

Sept. 27, Sunday. Beans for dinner. . . . Read in my Bible. Washed all over. Washed some clothes. Eat 2 pieces of pie for dinner; expense 15c. Laid around, walked around, and finally went to bed. . . .

Sept. 29th. 13 months today since we were mustered in the Service. . . . Boys ordered to hitch up at 8 o'clock (rained like thunder) for inspection. Just got harnessed when orders were issued to unhitch and unharness. Got completely soaked. Read one of Beadle's dime novels, *East and West*. . . .

Sept. 30th. Rained all night, and this morning it comes down 2.40. Tent overflowed. Mud 2 feet deep in the middle of tent. Nothing to eat but bread and coffee. Abt 40,000 flies in tent. . . . Boys robbed a nigger of his oranges, hat, and watch chain. . . .

October 1st, 1863. . . . Had fresh beef for breakfast. . . . Played whist in the evening. Somebody greased the R. R. track . . .

Oct. 4th. . . . Visited the fortifications above the city which extend across the country from the river to the Lake. Saw Miss Pfranz. Robb and myself called on her in the evening. Boys cleaned out a bar up town. Any amount of whiskey, rum, gin, brandy and wine in camp. Most all got drunk as the Devil and had an awful time. In the afternoon when Geo. and me returned from our ride, found the battery all hitched up, ready to move. Just going to start when orders came to unhitch and tie our horses to picket rope. Boys had burned up all their beds and had to sleep on the ground. . . .

[From New Orleans to Opelousas, La.]

Oct. 5th. . . . Ordered to move at 4 o'clock; did not get away until 7. Went to levee and loaded on the steamer *Emerald*. Boat started about 8 o'clock. Doggett [battery dog] got hurt and Billy Stevens has gone back for him. . . . Arrived at Algiers below and on the opposite side of the river from New Orleans after a pleasant ride of an hour and a half. Unloaded the boat and put the battery on to the cars. Got loaded about 12 o'clock. Capt. White sick; Lieut. Throop in command; Joe Bar[r] drunk. Got on our way at 1 o'clock. Arrived at Brashear City [Morgan City, La.] at 9 o'clock. Unloaded our horses and guns, put the guns on a ferry and our horses on a steamer *(Thomas)*. Crossed the river [Atchafalaya] and

took our horses off about 12 o'clock p.m. Brashear City is a big mud hole with a few houses stuck up on stilts. . . .

Oct. 7th. Reveille at 4 o'clock. Got to marching at 6 o'clock. Road for some miles lay through a swamp, and on both sides of it were ditches made by making the road. Saw a number of dead alligators and 2 live ones. Passed through Pattersonville, 9 miles from Algiers. Struck the Teche River [Bayou Teche] shortly after leaving Pattersonville. Passed a steamboat without any smoke stacks. Country along this river is high and rich. Numerous plantations with sugar refinerys and long rows of nigger huts, but now the places are all deserted. Houses are all torn down, and numerous are the indications of heavy skirmishing when we occupied the country for the first time. Went into camp on the bank of the river in the front yard of a once fine plantation palace. Just before arriving at camp passed the steamboat *St. Charles* at the wreck of the gun boat *Ben Cotton* (Rebel) which our gun boats sunk last spring. Our folks had placed powder under the wreck and were just ready to blow her up with a galvanic battery. Got a lot of oranges on the way. . . . Made 18 miles.

Oct. 8. . . . Got to Franklin [La.] at 11 o'clock. . . . Paid 24 dollars for 5 pies, 20 dollars for 20 cigars . . . and (Confederate money) got a can of milk and some cheese. . . .

Oct. 9th. . . . Marched to within a mile this side of New Iberia. . . . Passed a house with the British flag hanging from it. Ordered back to Franklin. . . . Brass band of the 3rd Division playing in the evening. A beautiful day for marching. . . .

Oct. 10. Reveille at 4 o'clock. On the road at 5½ o'clock. Prairie on fire in the distance. . . . Passed by plantations where protection papers had been granted. . . .

Sunday, Oct. 11th. . . . Orders read in relation to the conduct of troops in Franklin. Got to Franklin at 9 o'clock. Stopped outside of the town some time. Moved through town and camped on the northwest corner of the town. Got our shebangs up and built bunks. . . . Wreck of a Rebel gun boat in the Bayou opposite camp. . . . Heard some heavy firing in the distance. The Bayou is full of alligators. A steamboat passed; got some bread off of it.

Oct. 12. . . . Mendsen got some Confederate money. Bot some of it for 15c. . . . A great many went to Hd. Qrs. after protection papers. . . . Pedlar in camp with cakes, oranges, corn bread. . . .

Oct. 13th. . . . No one was allowed to leave camp this afternoon, as Genl. [W. J.] Landram had received a letter from someone that guerillas were to attack us. Provost guards took possession of all the

skiffs in the river. . . . Chase Dick[inson] and Munn out tonight after some girls they got acquainted with in town.

Oct. 14th. . . . Had a bad diarrea in the morning. . . . Borrowed 5c of Pratt, 5c of Gilmore. Bought some molasses candy of a nigger. . . .

Oct. 16. Got a pass and went down town. Played billiards with Gilmore. Got some pies, cakes, and bread. . . . Rumors that we are to be attacked in morning. . . .

Oct. 17th. Horses harnessed before daylight. Regiments in line of battle, ready for an attack which the Rebels said they was to make, but they did not come. . . . Musquitoes awful thick in the evening. . . .

Oct. 18th, Sunday. . . . Went to church meeting held in one of the churches in Franklin. 19th Ky. chaplain preached. Had a very, very, good sermon. Some of the citizens were at church. Olcott was ordered by Col. Landram to be tied up and have nothing but bread and water for 5 days for writing passes and chging a nigger $1.00 apiece in gold for them. Heard that our advance was to Opalousas on the 16th.

Oct. 19. . . . Got a pass and went to town.. Stayed there all forenoon. Beat T—— at billiards. Bought an Arithmetic, .75. Got an *Yankee Nations,* .25, from a boat that had just come up from Brashear, New Orleans papers of the 18, and Cincinatti papers of the 5th. A lot of spades, shovels, pickaxes and other tools were brought here by the last boat. Went down town again in the afternoon again. Musketoes thick as the very Deil. Beat Throop at billiards. Mendsen and Dick fighting about a book.

Oct. 20th. . . . Ground down my mouthpiece. . . . Mule in river —"blind." Was going round and round. Give Tracy "Weeping Sad and Lonely" to give to a secesh wench that lives in town. Rode to sutler's and got some segars.

Oct. 21st. . . . Wrote some verses in this book. Studied Arithmetic and read in the Bible. . . . Issueing rations to the secesh. Moved with Charley to vacant house down near the Bayou. Bayou covered with some kind of leaves which makes it look like a green lawn. . . .

Oct. 24th. Very cloudy and quite cold. Built a new shebang with boards got from an old mill. Col. Landram said nobody was to take any boards, but the boys took all they wanted in spite of him. Went down to the mill to get some nails. Guards arrested me and some others. Was taken to Hd. Qrs. Was told not to take any thing more from the mill. . . .

Oct. 25th. . . . Boys went across the river to the wreck of the *Diana* and got some iron and built a furnace in the shebang. . . .

Oct. 27th. Found somebody had labelled all the shebangs with black paint. Ours is "Pow Wow." Hold protracted meeting here. Among other names were "Badger's Den," "Mushroom House," "Cruikeen Lawn," "Niggers for Sale," "Otel de Hinglish," "Hospital," "Gamblers' Retreat," "Celibacy Hole," "Mother Herrick's," "Siamese Twins," "Barber Shop," "Prairie Queen," "Adj. Post," "Iron Clad," and "Venereals' Hall."... Capt. sent word for us to make less noise last night....

Nov. 3rd. ... Went out on my horse again. Played coming through town. Got everybody out to see what was the row.... Played flute with [Henry] Roe in afternoon. Had a sing in the evening....

Nov. 4th. Drilled in the morning.... Throop drill master. Drilled principally in the bugle calls. Fooled the boys a good deal on them.... Boys went out after cattle....

Nov. 6th. ... Read abt all day. Finished *Frank Fowleigh*[?].... Joe Barr shot an old horse that had distemper. Col. Landram ordered the niggers to move the body of Old Charley....

Nov. 9th. 1st Division passed through town in morning. Got our 4 new guns into camp. Worked all day getting the harnesses together and arranging the new guns.... Turned two of the old guns.... Had a shebang full in the evening. Gibble Gobble family had a sing....

Nov. 10th. Clothing came; drew 2 pr. socks.... Mended my jacket and some other things in afternoon. Put on another shirt; thought I would freeze. Stopped up our shebang with moss.

Nov. 11. ... Put some hay on my bunk. Got my horse shod....

Nov. 13. ... Went down town in evening. Went to Evans' and played flute with Parker. A big scare. Infantry drawn up behind our guns until after 11 o'clock P.M....

Nov. 14. ... Left and centre section ordered to Iberia.... Dyer, Parker, and myself called at Allen's and had some music. Quite a number of young ladies there. Among the rest a little girl that delights to turn up her nose at the Union soldiers.

Nov. 15. ... Boat came in night. Left section loaded on and got off at 8 o'clock.... Boys drew lots to see who would go with the section.... [Jos.] Day, Pratt, Kret [?], Cozzens, and Allen went up 10 miles on the *Starlight* to get a barge loaded with sugar.... Capt. and [Wm.] Brown went to see Madam Porter.

Nov. 16. ... Maj. Nickols payed the battery for the months of Sept. and Oct. Clothing a/c was settled. My a/c was overdrawn $17.45. Allotment was taken out, and the result is that I did not get a red. Boys on a tight in afternoon.... Sherman de-

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serted us at Ark. Post. Got drafted in New York and concluded to come back. . . .

Nov. 19th. . . . Centre section ordered to Iberia. . . . Had a great time in evening slapping each other with sticks. . . .

Nov. 20th. All the niggers conscripted to work on fortifications which were commenced today. . . . Shebang full of boys playing poker. . . .

Nov. 22nd, Sunday. Put on some clean clothes. . . . Read all forenoon. Afternoon took a walk. Sat on a fence about 2 hours; saw all the style there is in Franklin. Word received that the telegraph wire both above and below were cut. An attack expected in evening. A cavalry force came in. They were sent from Iberia to repair the wires. Found them cut in three places. . . . Went to prayer meeting that was held in Mr. Dyer's shebang. Read until quite late in the evening. Boys outside having a great time. Evening bright and clear as day. . . .

Nov. 24th. . . . A very heavy rain filled our shebang stove full and covered our floor all over. . . . Read all forenoon in *Recreations of a Country Parson.* Boys playing cribbage at the table. . . .

Nov. 25. . . . Drilled in forenoon. Coming through town on double quick, caison came off the pintle hook. Boys and carriages all in a heap. No one hurt. . . . Sowed my pants. . . . Mended my shirts.

Nov. 26th. Thanksgiving. Got 2 shoes put on to my horse. Got my bridle fixed and done a big day's work generally. Had a big dinner: chickens, ducks, oyster stuffing, bread pudding. After dinner went to Allen's and had some music. . . . [Lieut.] Cone got a letter in regard to the boys going by the guard on their way to water. Day was beautiful. Played 48 games of 7 up with Charley Cozzens. This morning the ground was covered with a heavy frost. . . .

Nov. 28th. Something I ate give me gas all night. . . . Sick all day. . . .

Nov. 29th. . . . Seven weeks today since we came into this camp.

Nov. 30th. Drilled in the morning. . . . Dyer and myself went in afternoon to Allen's. Had a little music. . . . Put a new Doodensnapper in our shebang; translation—"stove." . . .

Dec. 1. . . . No drill in consequence of building a barn. . . . Played cribbage in afternoon. Had a slight attack of "Diar." Spent my last 5 cents today. Flat broke again.

Dec. 2. . . . Took a dose of salts in morning. Afternoon went

riding with Prior down town. Evening sowed up my pants and read *Recreations* a while; also a little arithmetic. . . .

Dec. 5th. . . . News of great victory over Bragg [Chattanooga]. . . . Played cards in afternoon. . . .

Dec. 6th. . . . Had to get up 3 times last night to drive away cows from our shebang. . . . Went to church. Wrote a letter to Jennie. Somebody set fire to the old mill and burnt it up.

[Back to New Orleans]

Dec. 10th. . . . Packed up and left Franklin. . . . Marched 20 miles. . . . Got supper and went to bed at 6 o'clock, completely tuckered out. . . .

Dec. 12th. . . . Got a pass to go to Brashear. . . . Got out into the Bay. A squall came up; got wet to the skin. Bot some bread, oranges, and other things. Billy Munn asked the Master of Transportation to go over in the steamer that was taking troops across. Got arrested. Had to get Col. Landram to release him. . . .

Sunday, Dec. 13. Hitched up and went to the landing at 8 o'clock a. m. *La. Belle* took 20 of our horses across. A heavy wind came up and no boats could get across the Bay again. Laid on the bank all day. About 5 o'clock P.M. the *Starlight* came across and we loaded on to her and came over. Got the last of the B. over at 12 o'clock in the night. Slept with Parker under the gun. . . .

Dec. 14. . . . Slept splendid under the gun. Got some buckwheat cakes at an eating house and coffee for breakfast, oysters on half shell for dinner. . . .

Dec. 15th. Ordered to load on cars [for Algiers] at 7 o'clock. Not cars enough to load the battery. We had to lay around all day. Day splendid. Was to leave on the 1 o'clock train but did not get of[f]. Rode through the camps and fort. Nigger troupe performed here last night. Another tonight. . . .

Dec. 16. Loaded the battery last night and slept in the depot. Went to hear Tom Baker Minstrels. . . . Arrived at Algiers about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Unloaded and went into camp just below the town on the banks of the Miss. . . . Dug a ditch around the tent in the rain. . . . "Old Splendid" went to bed with Munn, wet and tired. . . .

Dec. 18. . . . Boys all in New Orleans on a tight. Delaney and Graham had a fight. Delaney got whipped bad. Squad 1 all drunk. . . .

Dec. 23rd. . . . Moved across the river [to New Orleans] in afternoon and camped at the Pelican Cotton Press, corner of St.

Mary and Religious Strs. Boys down town on a tight. Slept under cotton shed.

Dec. 24th. . . . Loading on the boat all day. . . . Slept on the guards of the steamer.

Dec. 25 Christmas. Went to German Catholic Church in morning at 4 o'clock. Dyer and Parker went with me. Very imposing ceremonies. Got breakfast at market. . . .

Dec. 26th. Morning taken up in loading horses. . . . Our boat lays at the stern of the *Sir William Peel,* a blockade runner captured 4 months since. Left New Orleans about 1 o'clock. A number of war vessels in the harbor. Maj. Genl. Herron and staff on board. Mail came just as we was leaving the dock.

[New Orleans to Matagorda Bay, Texas]

Dec. 27th. Laid at the mouth of the Miss. River all night. Went through the Southwest Pass and got to sea abt 10 o'clock. Very heavy sea. Raining and blowing very hard. Boys all sea sick. Was sick myself all day. Doggett [battery dog] first on board to get sick. Horses could not keep their ft.

Dec. 28th. Very heavy sea all night Boat pitched bad. Day splendid and quite cool. Waves went down and it was smooth as glass all day. Evening was spent in singing for the Genl. amusement. No land in sight all day. Passed 3 steamers.

Dec. 29th. 16 months today in Uncle Sam's service. Day rather rough. Waves made the boat roll and pitch bad. . . . Got over the bar at 4 o'clock. Landed on the mainland [off Matagorda Bay, Texas]. Got our horses off about 9 o'clock p.m. Raining very hard.

Dec. 30th. The boys working all night to get the boat unloaded. Today the weather is very stormy. Slept in the boat. Unloaded in a storm. Went into camp about half a mile from the landing. Got our shebangs up at night. Nothing but a sandy desert all around.

Dec. 31st. A regular norwester came up about 11 o'clock. Blew down shebangs, tents, and made itself familliar generally. . . . Sand flying so hard sand in everything; mouth, eyes, vituals full of it. . . .

Jany. 1st, 1864. . . . Spent the day in writing and trying to keep warm. Boys got some whiskey somewhere and some got tight. . . .

Jany. 5th. . . .Was working all day fortifying our fire against the wind. . . . Some of the sqds out of hard tack. Regiments have not had anything to eat in two days.

Jany. 6th. Day cold, windy, and cloudy. Sand flying in all directions. Out of coffee. Boat came over the bar with rations

today. Lay in bed most of the day to keep warm. . . . Genl. [T. E. G.] Ransom took command of the 4 Division today. . . .

Jany. 7th. Sun shining very bright today. . . . Laid in bed all day to keep warm. Read letter in *Journal* from B. F. Taylor on the Mission Ridge fight.

Jany. 8th. . . . Boys on detail brot in some sheep. A large drove of sheep went through the camp today. Man buried today that was frozen to death last night on picket, from 23 Wisconsin. Genl. Landram confiscated a lot of sutlers' stores and divided them among the troop. Got some tobacco and candy for my share. Spent the day in writing and reading. . . .

Jany. 11. Day cold and rain. Went down to the sea shore and picked up shells. Sent 2 threads of sea grass and a star fish home in an envelope. . . .

Jany. 19th. Detail went for oysters on the Point about 18 miles. Got a wagon load. Day clear and warm. Volunteered to go on the expedition that is to start tomorrow.

Jany. 20th. 1st Brigade, 1 gun of our battery, and 40 mounted men, of which I was one of them, started on a reconniscence up the Point. Camped 14 miles up the peninsula. . . .

Jany. 21. Off by daylight. Had a hard ride until 12 o'clock, when we stopped to wind our horses and let them graze. Can see Metagorda from where we stopped. Went into camp 35 miles from the Point. . . . Could not get any water to make coffee at night.

Jany. 22nd. Was on picket last night. About 12 o'clock Lieut. came up and 10 of us went with him in the 13 Maine Regiment that had been landed above us on the beach. Marched at the double quick all forenoon. The advance guard got after some Rebels. Captured 2 of their horses and saddles, and got a shot at some other Rebs. . . . Went to within 4 miles of their fortifications. Gun boat went up and threw 3 shells into their camp. Was ordered to take back track. . . .

Jany. 29. 17 months since I came into the army. Boys in the shebang got a box by the *Alabama*. . . . 2 Rebs came into the lines. Nothing but hard tack and coffee to eat. . . .

Jany. 31st. . . . Studied arithmetic and read all day. Bot some butter, pencil, and 1 cake of soap from sutler. Order to move to Indianola [Tex.] tomorrow. Homesick as the old boy all day.

Feb. 1st, Monday. Day warm. Orders to pack up in morning to go to Indianola. Ordered to take feed boxes and everything we could carry. Got all prepared to leave. Stayed so all day. Ordered in evening to stay where we were until further orders.

Feby. 11th. Day cool and pleasant. Played ball. Went down to the Gulf with Mendsen in afternoon and took a bath. . . .

Feby. 16. The first meeting of the C. M. B. Sons of Mars took place last night. Mendsen, Grand Chaplain; Hudson, Grand Mogul, etc. The society is gotten up for the purpose of showing the new recruits a *new* snap. . . . In afternoon boys all off a-fishing. Laid awake most all night; could not go to sleep. Don't know what was the matter. Boys had good luck fishing; got 6 whoppers. . . .

Feby. 22nd. . . . 1 year ago today we fired a salute at Young's Point, La., in honor of Washington's birthday. . . .

Feby. 25th. Played a match game of ball in morning. At noon orders to pack up. Loaded on to the *Clinton* in afternoon. Got a bunk on the hurricane deck. . . .

[Texas to Berwick, La.]

Feby. 26th. Loading battery all night. Did not get any sleep. Got away from the point at 8 o'clock. . . . After we got the battery loaded, had to shift cargo from front to back hole. . . .

Feby. 27th. Slept on a coil of rope. Never rested better in my life. . . . Sea smooth as glass. Bought 25c worth of ginger snaps of boy. . . . Came in sight of the lighthouse off Berwick Bay at 3 o'clock. . . . Slept in afternoon and played euchre. . . . Tried to get over the bar into B. Bay twice, but at dark had not accomplished it. Wrote a page and a half to a letter to mother. Read a page or two in *Country Parson.* Boat anchored off the Bay. . . .

Feby. 28th, Sunday. Weighed anchor at daylight. Had to get up, bed being in the way of the capstan. . . . Landed at Brashear Dock at 12 o'clock. . . . Laid at the dock some time and then crossed over to Berwick. Trees in full bloom. . . . Mail came while we were on the boat. . . . Papers from mother containing 6 cookies, 8 ginger snaps, and 12 cigars. . . . Also package of tea, vest, silk hdk, scarf, cigars, tobacco. . . . Had a happy evening. All the boys very merry over the things they received from loved ones at home. . . .

March 2nd. Day bright, clear and cool. In morning got a pass and went to Brashear. . . . Bought oranges, 25c; pocin nuts, 10c; tea pot to replace one I lost for Bryant, 75c; beer, 20c; lozenges, 10c. Got a plate of cookies at eating house. . . . Played a game of ball. . . .

March 3rd. . . . Took a walk in evening around the fort and saw the 15th La. nigger regiment at dress parade. Nothing to eat but crackers and coffee without sugar. . . .

Mch. 4th. . . . In evening called with Dyer on Mr. Watkins. Several Captains and Lieuts. of Nigs there. Music all the evening. After we left there passed a pleasant hour at the quarters of Capt. Ridgly. Came home rather how come you so.

March 5th. . . . Called on Capt. Rigely in morning and took a glass of Morning Call. . . . Spent 15c for raisons and nuts. Had headache all day.

Mch. 10th. . . . Did not get to bed until 2 o'clock this morning in consequence of being on a bum with the nigger officers. 3rd and 5th Engineers (colored) left this morning for Franklin [La.]. Got 2 tables, desk, bunks, and things generally. . . . Was half sick all day.

Mch. 11th. Day cool and beautiful. Had a mighty good breakfast: fresh beef, onions, potatoes, coffee, and hard tack. . . . Played cards all evening. . . .

[Berwick to Sabine Cross Roads, La.]

Mch. 13th. . . . Orders to march in the morning. Report to Genl. Ransom. . . .

Mch. 14th. . . . Arrived at Franklin at 4 o'clock p.m. . . . Mr. Dyer and myself called on Mr. Smith and the Misses Allen. Spent quite a pleasant evening. Place changed very much, fences gone and houses torn down. A large number of troops quartered in the town.

Mch. 16th. . . . Went into camp for the night . . . about 3 miles north of Generette. Boat went by with Zouave Regiment. Boys were foraging across the Bayou. Guards would not let them bring the sheep across. Some of them swam across after dark and brought them over. Horse got mired and threw me off. . . .

Mch. 17th. . . . Passed through New Iberia about 12 o'clock. . . . Bought some butter at New Iberia. Strict orders against foraging. Got into camp at 2 o'clock, making 12 miles. Splendid day for marching, though roads dusty. . . .

Mch. 22nd. . . . Got to marching at 7. Roads muddy. Horse stepped on my bugle and smashed it. . . . Bayou Boeuf comes into the Cortableau a short distance above Washington [La.]. Went into camp in a plowed field at 4 o'clock. Marched 18 miles. . . . Barn burned. Evening very pleasant. Chickens for supper.

Mch. 23rd. . . . March at 5:30. Road lay along Bayou Boeuf. Day very pleasant. Roads rather muddy. To prevent foraging had roll call at every rest. . . . Camped in a plowed field as usual. Played

cribbage in the evening. Went to bed at 9 o'clock. Forgot to blow taps.

Mch. 25th. . . . Walked the skin off my feet. Went into camp at 2 o'clock, 6 miles from Alexandria. Marched about 14 miles. 6 of the boys have their pay stopped until tried by a court martial for being absent from roll call. The burning of the cotton gin 3 days ago has to be paid for by the 67th Ind. and 23rd Wis. Regiments. . . .

Mch. 26th. . . . Passed through Alexandria with colors flying. Went into camp 6 miles from the town of Bayou Rapides, which enters the Red River at Alexandria. Day was beautiful. A large number of gun boats at the landing; also transports. . . .

Mch. 27th. . . . Paymaster came around and paid us off for 4 months. Got 52 dollars. Put a patch on the knee of my breeches —a damn poor job. . . .

April 1st. . . . Marched 17 miles. Camped within 4 miles of Natchitoches. Rumor that the Rebs are going to make a stand a short distance beyond the town. Saw a lot of cotton they had burned to keep it from falling into our hands. . . .

April 2nd. Reveille at 4:30. Marched to the town of Natchitoches and camped on the outside of the town. Got into camp at 10 o'clock. March 4 miles. Day clear and cool. 3 men outside the pickets were foraging. Some citizens caught them, shot one of them, knocked the other down with the butt of musket, the 3rd got away. Played cribbage. Read all day. . . .

April 3rd, Sunday. . . . Went to town in afternoon. Bought some papers. Town is about the size of Franklin, built on one street. . . . Orders read at roll call in regard to the shooting of the men who were out foraging. Everything on the plantation is to be laid waste. Some ruin.

April 4th. . . . A. J. Smith, our old Division commander, came into camp. Co. up in line, give him three cheers and a tiger. A lot of other generals with him. . . .

April 6th. Marched at 8 o'clock. Day warm and dusty. Made 15 miles and camped in the woods. Road lay through the woods all day. Country hilly. [Gen. W. B.] Franklin and staff passed in afternoon.

April 7th. Reveille at 4. Marched to Pleasant Hill, a small town 35 miles from Natchitoches. Made 20 miles today. Cloudy and rainy all day. Got to camp at 2 o'clock. 19th Corps passed through and camped in front of us. Cavalry had a fight. 80 of their wounded at a house here. 2 companies of the 87th Ill. Cavalry captured. Our cavalry finally compelled them to fall back. A New York Regt. of Cavalry said to have run. Evening very rainy.

April 8th. Left Pleasant at 5:30. Our Brigade left at 4. Engaged the Rebels at 2 p.m. The whole division driven back with loss of the Mercantile and 1st Indiana Batteries, the 2nd Mass., and 2 mountain howitzers belonging to the cavalry; also Bat. G, 1st Regulars. The whole of the cavalry division train also captured. Boys lost their knapsacks and everything on the caisons and guns. Geo. Throop, 1st Lieut., supposed to be mortally wounded and a prisoner. Capt. White, Lieuts. Cone and Barr also prisoners. Billy Munn and Geo. Bryant and Dyer and others supposed to be prisoners.

April 9th. Slept in the woods by the road with Chase Dick[inson] about 1 mile from the front of line of battle of the 19th Corps. Did not wake until 4 a.m. Found our army had fell back during the night to Pleasant Hill, and we was some 3 miles behind our rear guard. Saddled up and travelled for the army as fast as possible. Got into the lines just as the Rebs' cavalry commenced skirmishing with our pickets. Got a good breakfast at the 1st Vermont Battery. The remains of the 13th Army Corps ordered back to the station on Red River—Grand Écore—4 miles from Natchitoches. On the retreat all day. . . .

[Retreat to New Orleans]

April 10th, Sunday. Got to Grand Écore at 12 o'clock. Day warm and pleasant. Got something to eat from the nigger regiment. . . .

Monday, April 11th. Day warm and pleasant. Moved from the town to the fleet under cover of the gun boats. All the army came in in the evening. Nothing to cook; in short rations, and no tents. Heavy firing by the gun boats up the river.

Tuesday, April 13th [12th]. . . . It appears that our transports that have gone up the river cannot get back again on account of the Rebels having a battery planted below them. A large force of infantry has gone up on both sides of the river to help them out. The firing heard yesterday was our gun boats shelling these Rebs. Our army lay on their arms all day expecting an attack, the Rebels having driven the cavalry pickets in. . . . Our army took about 400 prisoners on the 9th. Our Division has lost 1200 men and 10 pcs of artillery besides all of their knapsacks and blankets. Genl. Ransom wounded through the knee. Col. [L. R.] Webb of the 77th Ill. killed. Capt. [W. H.] Dickey on Genl. Ransom's staff also killed. One of our fleet came down from above, having run the blockade.

Wednesday, April 14th [13th]. . . . 7 boats or transports came down from the fleet above. Report the rest as all safe. The Rebels

charged one of the boats 3 times, headed by Genl. [Thomas] Green. It is said he was killed, his head blown from his body by our artillery on board the boat. . . . All of the fleet came down today. Troops came back from the expedition, bringing in 150 of the Rebs' wounded.

April 16 [15]. . . . Gov. of Missoura [H. R. Gamble] and Genls. Smith and Mowry [J. A. Mower] reviewed two regiments of Missoura troops. . . . An order read dishonorably dismissing 1 major, 1 adjutant, and 2 lieuts. of a Penn. regiment [47th] for cowardice. . . .

[*April*] *19th.* . . . Orders for the Battery to report to New Orleans, to Genl. Reynolds, commander of the defences, for duty. . . .

[*April*] *20th.* . . . Went on board the *Wm. L. Ewing* at 10 o'clock. All the troops in motion. A lot of wounded and sick men on board. Read an a/c of our battles in *The Era.*

[*April*] *21st.* Boat left Grand Écore at 6 o'clock p.m. A lot of sick and wounded on her, with but one surgeon. He has no medicines. The boat has no rations for them. One man died in the night from *starvation.* Our boys offering their services as nurses, making tea and coffee for them from our own rations. A lot of C. S. burned. A lot of niggers on the shore that they would not let on the boats. Night beautiful.

[*April*] *22nd.* Boat ran all night. In the middle of the night the Str. *Hastings* broke her rudder. Our boat took her in tow. This afternoon she run on a snag and sank in 7 feet water. She is loaded with forage. When we left her, they were unloading her and preparing to set her on fire. . . .

[*April*] *23rd.* Rebs fired a shot at us last night. Boat landed about 2 miles above Alexandria, just above rapids. Boys ordered to get off boat. Got over the rapids in evening. Boys buried 3 men off of the boat. Played billiards in afternoon; got beat. . . . Boat lay at Alexandria in evening. 3 killed and 17 wounded on the *Superior,* near the mouth of Red River by Guerillas.

[*April*] *24th.* . . . Ordered on board the *Kate Dale.* She was captured by our men from the Rebs, being built for a blockade runner. Unloaded from the *Ewing* and loaded on the *Dale.* Left Alexandria at noon. Boat ran into the river bank twice and broke both paddle wheels. . . . Passed Fort De Russey at sunset. River very crooked. Our boys worked the two guns on board, shelling the woods all the way down. . . .

[*April*] *25th.* Last night after passing the Fort about 4 miles, run into bank and broke the wheel. We could not get along. Lay

there all night. Got the wheel patched up and started for the Miss. at 11 o'clock. Passed gunboat 27 and 50. Got to mouth of Black River at 4 o'clock. Flagship *Black Hawk* lay there. Got into the Miss. at sunset. A number of gunboats lay here, among them the *Choctaw* and *LaFayette*. . . .

[*April*] *26th.* . . . Landed at New Orleans at 1 o'clk. All ordered to the Press. No one can get in or out without a pass. It is a very good place. Bunks, baths, and outhouses in abundance. . . .

[At Camp Parapet, New Orleans]

May 7th. . . . Brown drew a lot of muskets for the Company. Boys don't like it a bit. . . .

May 8th, Sunday. . . . Laid abed all day; nothing else to do. Got my boots fixed. Cost me a dollar. . . .

May 11th. . . . Played cribbage in afternoon. News in camp of a great battle [Spotsylvania] in Virginia. Grant in the fortifications of Richmond. . . .

May 15th, Sunday. . . . Orders in evening for a detail of 23 men to report tomorrow to go on picket, and 23 men for guard, and 25 men for fatigue on Tuesday, and 20 on every alternate day. A meeting of the Company was called and a petition was drawn up and signed by all of the Company, that "while we were ready to do all that the Regulations required artillerymen to perform, we objected to taking infantry equipments and doing infantry duty."

May 16. . . . Lieut. Roe made out the detail. All refused to go on duty. He then took the petition to Hd. Qrs. Was ordered under arrest immediately. After Dickinson had come from town, where he had been to consult with officers, a meeting was called again, and it was resolved to *retract* all that had been said and done. The muskets were issued to the Company, and this evening all is *quiet in the front* again. . . .

May 17th. . . . A Company of the 14th N. H. V. arrested all of the non-commissioned officers and Lieut. Roe and confined in the Military Prison at New Orleans. . . . A year ago tonight we slept on the battle ground of Black River Bridge.

May 18th. . . . Boys were put in an awful hard hole full of grey backs through influence of some of the 97th Ills. Officers were allowed a room by themselves. A letter was read to the Company from Merrill Ladd, Sec. of Mercantile Association of Chicago. . . .

May 22nd. Went to New Orleans. Saw the boys and bummed with Parker the rest of the day. . . . Saw woman walk tight rope stretched from top of house to ground. . . .

June 1st. . . . In evening some ladies connected with Sanitary Commission came into camp with Colonel Bangs and distributed a basket of towels, hdks., paper, combs, tobacco, and a lot of good gin [?] amongst the boys. Gave them 3 cheers when they left. . . .

June 8th. A new order read at roll call ordering out the whole Company for work on fortifications. . . . Read the whole play of *Romeo and Juliet* today. . . . Nothing for supper but coffee without sugar and milk, and dry bread. Darned hard to see any beauties in a soldier's life on such food. . . .

June 17th. . . . Hank Roe's court martial comes off today. . . .

[*June*] *21st.* Boys were released from durance vile today. . . .

[*June 25*]. . . . Col. ordered the whole guard to turn out to salute him. In doing so knocked the stack of muskets down. Col. said they need not salute him any more. . . . Read in *Nickolas Knickleby* all the afternoon. . . .

[The missing volume 3 of the diary contains entries from July 1, 1864, to December 31, 1864.]

January 1st, 1865. The year opens cold and clear; finds me on board of the Steamer *Belvidere* (a blockade runner formally [*sic*], but captured off the coast of Wilmington with 500 bales of cotton some 2 years ago), in Pascagoula Bay [Miss.]. The Battery was ordered on board night before last. The lighter made one trip taking the carriages only, the horses remaining ashore. This morning the horses were brought out about 3 o'clock. Got them loaded and weighed anchor at 6. Passed Ship Island within 40 rods at 8 o'clock a.m. Made the Southwest Pass at 4 o'clock. Made a splendid run, the Gulf being as smooth as glass. Out of sight of land about 2 hours.

Jany. 2nd. Ran up the Miss. all night. Landed at the dock, foot of Jackson Street, at 9 o'clk a.m. Got the Battery unloaded and put together at 2 o'clk p.m. Went into camp at Greenville at 5 o'clk p.m. and have a house to sleep in. . . .

Jany. 3rd. . . . When I got back to the camp found that Genl. Davis has taken the house for his Hd. Qrs. and shoved us out in the cold. . . .

Jany. 4th. . . . . Have been to the Varieties Theatre [New Orleans] tonight. . . . The plays were "Dot" or "The Cricket on the Hearth" and "Pocahontas". . . .

Jany. 7th. . . . Went to S. B. Howes and Co. Circus in New Orleans. . . .

Jany. 10th. . . . Went to St. Charles Theatre in the evening. Lucie de Anville [?] and phenomenon in a Smock Frock. . . .

[New Orleans to Baton Rouge]

Jany. 11. . . . Marching orders. Moved on to the levee in the afternoon. Got tight on bad whiskey. . . .

Jany. 12. Boat *N. M. Thomas* came up this morning at 1 o'clk. Loaded on and got started at 5. Reached Bonne Caere [?] at 10. Arrived at Donelsonville at dusk. Left a barge we had in tow and put off some stores. This town is 65 miles from Orleans. Bayou La Fourche empties into the Miss. at this point. Quite a large fort is erected on the north side of the Bayou at its mouth. The town is on the west side of the Miss. River.

Jany. 13th. Landed at Baton Rouge at 5 o'clock. . . . Went into camp in the south part of town. . . .

Jany. 18th. Inspection by a major. Condemned 18 horses. . . . Rehearsal for a nigger show in evening.

Jany. 24th. I find I have been rather slack in keeping up my diary. . . . We have been and are now getting up a nigger show. I am musical director. Joseph Hennig [?], a violinist of this place, is leader. John, a violin celloist, also of this place, is also engaged with us. The troupe is composed of Brownell: tamborine; Stees: banjo; Roe: guitar and jig-dancer; Kellerman: guitar and ballad singer; Tanner: violin second; Sampson: middle man; Mendsen: tenor and triangle; Nash: basso; and Cutting: end man and Bones. Amick, treasurer. We have had quite a number of rehearsals, and the thing goes off pretty well. . . .

Jany. 31. . . . Last Saturday night played for a French dance. Got 3.00 for it. . . . The first performance of the show came off tonight, to a crowded house After paying all expenses—$25 for the hall, $55.00 that we had borrowed, and incidental expense to the amount of $10, we have $50.00 to divide, a decided success.

Feby. 6th. . . . I commenced giving a young fellow lessons on the flute. . . . Give him three a week. . . .

Feby. 23rd. . . . Monday evening, the 20th, we were invited to serenade Genl. Herron. He expressed himself highly pleased with the music. Genl. A. J. Smith's troops have passed down the river, some 5,000, 60 boat loads. Herron has ordered that no soldier shall be out of camp after 8 o'clock p.m. . . .

Mch. 5th. On the morning of the first an expedition left this place, consisting of about 2,000 cavalry with two mountain howitzers.

They took a road leading to Clinton. I played on the evening of the first at Beale's Varieties. Got $2.00 for it.... The column is 22 miles from here and 9 miles from Clinton. Our pickets were confronting the Rebs today....

March 31. Days have passed as usual, slow and tedious. An epidemic has seized on the horses. 2 have died; 3 or four a day take the disease. It is a spasm or fit. They commence to back when they fall down, and if something is not done for them they die. On the 24th I made an application for a furlough....

Apr. 3rd. ... Furlough came back to Company today, approved.

Apr. 4th. ... Left Baton Rouge at 8½ o'clock on the *Sultana*....

April 5th. Run all night. Got into Vicksburg at 10 o'clock.

April 6th. ... Passed the mouth of White River at 1 o'clock p.m. Ran all night, making good time. The town of Napoleon at the mouth of White River under water 6 feet. I saw a number of people in the buildings. How they live there is a mystery to me....

April 8th. Arrived at Cairo at 12 o'clock. Found the train for Chicago had just left. Will have to lay over until tomorrow.... Went to Cairo Theatre in evening. Played the "Little Devil" and "Ireland As It Is"....

[No Entry until May 8th]

May 8th. [Chicago] Have been home since the 10th of last month on furlough. Have had a good time. Been to all sorts of amusements including opera twice. Have seen a great many people.... Since I have been home there had been a great deal of rejoicing and a great deal of sorrowing, Lee's surrender, the fall of Richmond, and the assassination of President Lincoln. The funeral of the President took place the 1st and 2nd of this month. Saw the President on the 2nd.... Tonight I have my things all ready for leaving when the baggage wagon comes....

Sunday, May 14th. Got into Baton Rouge at 7 o'clock.... The Battery had gone to New Orleans, so I put my traps on board again and started for New Orleans.

May 15th. ... Got to New Orleans at 7 o'clock. Found the Battery camped at the Apollo Stables, corner 8th and St. Charles. Boys glad to see me. Got them all tight....

Sunday, May 28th. A day to be remembered. The men who were taken prisoners at the Battle of Mansfield, the 8th of April, 1864, came back today, exchanged....

Sunday, June 11. . . . Thursday noon was to [be] mustered out. Thursday afternoon at two o'clock—nigger in the fence. Muster us out at noon Friday. Another nigger in the fence. Be mustered out Monday morning. Am very much afraid we will not be out of service before our time is out, no how. . . .

Wednesday, June 14. Was to have been mustered out today, but instead of that we are now likely to go to Texas, as no more soldiers are to be discharged until further orders from the War Department. Feel better now I know what we are going to do. . . .

June 22. . . . Got orders to turn over Company property, and go to Chicago to be mustered out of service, which is very good news and relieves my mind vastly. . . .

June 24. . . . Went to the Morningstar Minstrels in the evening. Damn poor show. All of the performers drunk.

June 25, Sunday. . . . Orders to pack up and leave. . . . Went on board *Brilliant* at 5 o'clock. Billy Munroe [?] left behind; passed him standing on the bank of the river at Carrollton with his girl. . . .

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Brownsville-Matamoros: Confederate Lifeline

It frequently happens in times of war and disaster that cities which have been little noticed, suddenly receive national and even international attention. This truism can readily be applied in the cases of Brownsville in southernmost Texas and Matamoros in the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico, during the American Civil War. The sleepy little towns lying on opposite banks of the Rio Grande, the international boundary, could behold the slow, muddy stream with no great inspiration. They were about thirty miles from where the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. A climate of oppressive tropical heat and torrential rains rendered the area undesirable, and a sandbar blocking the entrance to the river stopped larger ships and limited river traffic to smaller vessels of light draught. To all external appearances, the two border towns with their custom houses were destined to be quiet stopping places along the route of the overland, international trade between the United States and Mexico. Matamoros, sometimes misspelt "Matamoras," "Matamaras," and "Matamores," could glory in having been named for Father Mariano Matamoros, hero of Mexican independence, while Brownsville's slim population could point to the earthwork citadel, Fort Brown, which had become useless as a defense.[1]

Shortly after that first angry shot left a Southern cannon in Charleston Bay, April 12, 1861, the newly formed Confederate States

[1] Hamilton P. Bee, Goliad, Texas, to the Confederate Secretary of War, October 12, 1861; E. D. Townsend, et al., eds., *The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols., Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1883–1896, (hereinafter cited as *O.R.*), Richard Rush, ed., *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 31 vols., Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1894–1902, (hereinafter cited as *O.R.N.*), I, 4, 118–119.

of America realized the grave problem confronting them. It was a stark reality that they must market their cotton and find sources of supplies in other countries, or perish. Cotton-famished Europe was eager to supply any amount of material in exchange for the vital staple. However, the increasing extent and efficiency of the Northern blockade, declared a week after Sumter, was choking off the regular trade lanes. It was imperative that the beleaguered Confederacy should find and maintain a safe and reliable route. The eyes of Southern statesmen and strategists, of quartermaster and merchant turned to the Bahamas, the West Indies, Central America, and to Matamoros, an already opened rear door of the Confederacy.[2]

War fever with all its fears and bustle gripped Matamoros and Fort Brown. A report to the Confederate Secretary of War reveals the conditions and the state of mind in the lower Texas area:

> Brownsville is about thirty miles from the Gulf; Brazos Island is its port; depth of water six feet. The mouth of the Rio Grande has still less water on its bar.
>
> Fort Brown was built by General Taylor for attack on Matamoros, and is of but little use for defense of Brownsville, as an enemy could without difficulty take possession of it without coming under fire from the fort, whose guns could destroy it in an hour. The fort has been repaired by Colonel Ford and is unfinished, but could in a short time be made as strong as earthworks generally are. There are twenty-five pieces of cannon of different caliber there, including a light battery, complete, with its caissons loaded, harness in good order, and ready for service in thirty minutes. The battery horses are poor and unserviceable, but in improving condition. About 300 rounds of ammunition for each piece, of the best description, and a good supply of powder and ball cartridges constitute the supply of ammunition. Lead can be bought in any quantity at 4½ cents per pound. There is one 10-inch mortar, and no piece larger than a 24-pounder. There are now at Fort Brown four companies of cavalry (Texans), say 400 men in all.
>
> Brownsville is the depot of the Mexican trade. In 1860 $12,000,000 in specie passed through the custom-house en route for the United States. The imports of goods, principally dry goods, is proportionally heavy. All trade is now suspended. No direct shipments have arrived at Matamoras [sic] from foreign ports. Two vessels arrived there from New York while I was on the Rio Grande, both loaded with provisions and necessary supplies. One of them was wrecked. The foreign merchants of Matamoras are English and German, and are friendly to our cause. No arrangements for direct importation have been made, owing to the unsettled state of opinion concerning the raising of the blockade. If it should not be raised, direct importation will follow.
>
> The Mexicans are neutral. The officers, civil and military, profess and exhibit every desire to co-operate with us in maintaining peace and

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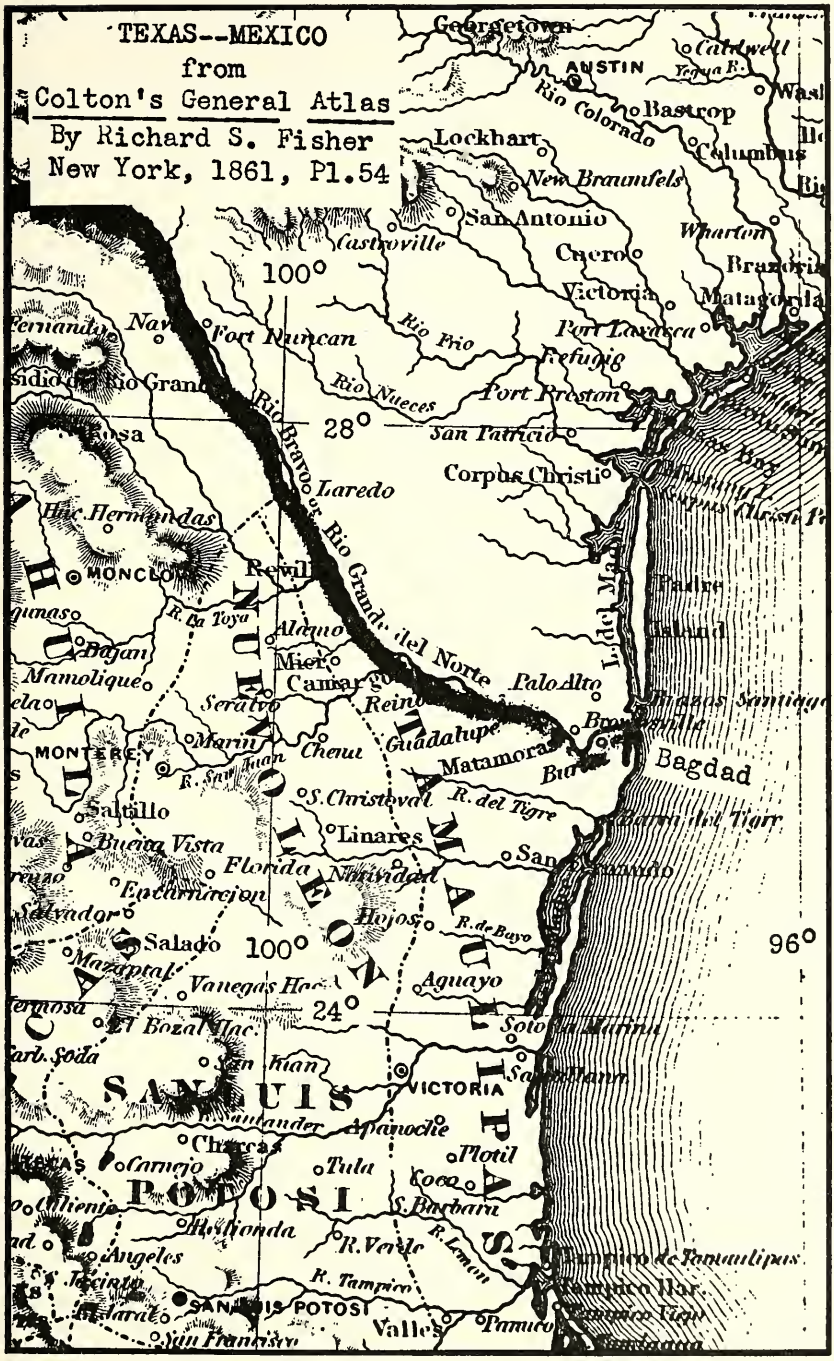
[2] Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America*, Chicago, 1931, 261.


TEXAS--MEXICO
from
Colton's General Atlas
By Richard S. Fisher
New York, 1861, Pl.54
Georgetown
AUSTIN
Caldwell
Rio Colorado
Bastrop
Lockhart
Columbus
New Braunfels
San Antonio
Castroville
Cuero
Wharton
Victoria
Matagorda
100°
Fort Duncan
Rio Frio
Port Lavaca
Refugio
Rio Nueces
Port Preston
Rio Bravo
28°
San Patricio
Corpus Christi
Laredo
Rio Grande del Norte
Padre
Palo Alto
Matamoras
Bagdad
MONCLOVA
Reville
Alcquo
Mier
Camargo
Reinosa
Serralvo
Guadalupe
MONTERREY
Marin
Cheno
Saltillo
S. Christoval
R. del Tigre
Linares
Buena Vista
Florida
Encarnacion
Salvador
Hujos
Salado
100°
Mazapital
Aguayo
24°
El Bozal Hac.
SAN LUIS
VICTORIA
Chareas
Tula
Moril
POTOSI
Rollonda
Angeles
R. Verde
R. Tampico
SAN LUIS POTOSI
Valles
Panuco
Tampico de Tamaulipas
96°

good order on the line, and have aided essentially in estopping the forays of Cortinas [sic] into Texas. The Mexican population on this side of the Rio Grande are quiet, but not to be relied on in case of invasion.

It is known that Lieutenant Langdon (artillery) and two cavalry officers, who were previously on this line and familiar with the country are now at Fort Pickens. Two cavalry companies are said to be on Santa Rosa Island. They have all the information, and we may suppose the desire, to repossess themselves of that point.

The following reasons occur to my mind why the enemy will seek to reoccupy Fort Brown: The hope of recapturing cannon and material of war; the opening of the Mexican trade to New York, which will throw millions of dollars into the industry of the North. The fact, beyond a question, that the reoccupation of that point will convert the neutrality of the Mexicans into hostility, their hatred and bitterness is against us, not against the North. By virtue of commissions from the Lincoln authorities two or three thousand Mexican mounted guerillas could be mustered into the service of the United States, to depredate and destroy the settlements even to the San Antonio River, thus destroying the stock interest of Western Texas.

My conclusions are that it is of the utmost importance to the Confederacy that Brownsville and the line of the Rio Grande should be held by them. Shut up and encompassed around as we are, it is the only point through which we can communicate with the nations of Europe. By proper encouragement every necessary supply, either for our Government or people, can be brought to Matamoras from abroad, and we have no other outlet so long as the supremacy of the seas is against us. It will keep quiet and neutral a large and in some respects an efficient force of a race embittered against us by real or imaginary wrongs dating back twenty years. By means of the steamboats now at Brownsville the enemy could transport a force to Ringold Barracks, and thence, by forced marches over a good road, be at San Antonio in twelve days—leaving no enemy in their rear, but on the contrary, a willing and useful ally, to keep up their line of communication. It is the most feasible way to invade Texas. Brownsville should be defended or given up at once, and the cannon withdrawn while there is time. It will be too late when the enemy lands. A few men—a thousand men—cannot defend it; they will only be caught in a trap; there will be no way of retreat. The gloomy desert of sand between the Rio Grande and Nueces will lose us the cannon. The material of war there is worth its weight in gold to our cause. It will be lost within two months unless a strong force is sent there for its protection. An officer who speaks the Mexican language and understands the people should be appointed to the command. If he is wise and watchful, he will keep the peace with Mexico and make her people useful friends. Supplies of all sorts for the troops can be got in Brownsville except bacon or pork.[3]

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[3] The report was inclosed in a letter of General H. P. Bee to the Confederate Secretary of War, October 12, 1861; *O.R.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, 118–119. The report on the inadequacy of Fort Brown revealed that the cavalry was in poor condition and that there were only 400 men to defend it. In the report of Col. P. N. Luckett, Fort Brown, to Lieut. Wm. O. Yager, December 31, 1861, *ibid.*, 165, the troops are described: "... the most of

During the summer preceding this report the "Lincoln authorities" had been establishing agents in Mexico City to win the favor of the Juárez government. The Confederate Government at Richmond, on its part, aware of the power of the caudillo governors of the north Mexican states, had sent emissaries to Tampico and especially to Santiago Vidaurri, Governor of Nuevo León, and by September 3 had commissioned Juan A. Quintero as agent at Monterrey.[4] A four page letter instructed him in detail to keep Vidaurri friendly to the South, to collect accurate and minute information on the peoples and products of the northern provinces of Mexico, to find out if the Juárez government had given the United States permission to send troops through Nuevo León for an attack on Texas, to see the purchase of arms, munitions, and materials of various sorts, to see if foreign goods and materials could be consigned to citizens of Nuevo León and safely landed at Matamoros with all necessary papers, and to find the best way to transport them to the South. Obviously, Matamoros, to which British and German merchants and agents of the North and South had already flocked, was to be a very important section of the Confederate lifeline.[5]

Soon, through this busy *entrepôt* supplies of every type poured into the South, and Governor Vidaurri in a personal letter to Jefferson Davis offered to furnish the Confederacy with as much ammunition as it could use.[6] While from Monterrey the firm of Oliver and Brothers invitingly announced that it was prepared to deliver "everything with the exception of small arms." This busy company was already shipping large quantities of gunpowder into Texas and had moreover contracted to deliver all of the powder and saltpeter on sale in the mineral-rich state of Zacatecas.[7] The intensive program of commerce soon involved all of northern Mexico as far south as San Luis Potosí.

Great Britain, a leading contributor to trade, sent such exemplary cargoes as: 14,200 Enfield rifles, 156 revolvers, 2,000,000 cartridges,

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them are scantily clothed, and have received no pay; they know the state of the Government credit quite as well as I do myself, and also the difficulties attendent upon procuring supplies."

[4] Letter of Instructions to a Confederate Agent, in James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, 2 vols., Nashville, 1905, II, 79. The instructions are to J. A. Quinterro, [sic]. On Quintero's vast efforts see Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 119–133.

[5] Bee to Confederate Secretary of War, *O.R.*, I, IV, 118. See also Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 126 f.

[6] *Ibid.*, 126.

[7] *Ibid.*

and 5,000,000 rifle caps in the single hold of its schooner *Love Bird,*[8] and 20,000 pounds of gunpowder packed in the *Gladiator* and the *Sea Queen.*[9] Even a casual glance at random captures by the blockade presents us with an amazing assortment and volume of supplies from England, viz., 1,048 lbs. of lead, horsemen's boots and spurs, percussion caps, gunpowder, and bird-shot on board the *Sea Drift;*[10] 65,000 lbs. of powder, 7 tons of horseshoes, and between four and five thousand dollars worth of medicines on the prize schooner *Flying Scud.*[11] Other important items were: boots, shoes, blankets, stockings, bar-iron, iron plates, steel, paper, rope, cotton bagging,[12] Confederate uniform cloth, gold buttons for officer's uniforms,[13] and even the ready-made Confederate uniforms themselves![14]

Profit-seeking, unpatriotic Yankee merchants also put in their bid for a share of the lucrative trade by sending such utile objects as spades, boots, shoes, cotton cards, axes, and even shiploads of army wagons—all manufactured in Northern factories and shipped from Northern held ports.[15] This embarrassing situation forced Admiral Farragut to object seriously to some of the principle customhouses that they were too often clearing contraband-loaded vessels for Matamoros and at that very moment (December 10, 1862) thirty-one such illegal carriers were anchored at that Mexican port—most of them from New York.[16] So great was the facility for obtaining supplies through this route that General Hamilton P. Bee, C.S.A., was easily able to arrange for 6,000 muskets, and 20,000 pounds of gunpowder in a single order.[17] On another occasion this same diplomatic Southerner engineered an agreement to obtain the

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[8] Bee, Fort Brown, to Nelson Clements, Esq., October 3, 1863; *O.R.N.*, I, 20, pt. 2, 286.

[9] Major Charles Russell, C.S.A., Fort Brown, to Captain Edmund B. Turner, August 21, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XXVI, pt. 2, 176.

[10] Extract from the diary of Commander H. H. Bell, U. S. N., June 25, 1863, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 760.

[11] Commander M. B. Woolsey, *U. S. S. Princess Royal,* to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, August 14, 1863, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 453.

[12] Lieutenant Commander Richard W. Meade, Jr., *U. S. S. Chocura,* to Welles, December 5, 1864, *O.R.N.*, I, 21, 747.

[13] Lieutenant Charles H. Brown, *U. S. S. Virginia,* to Welles, November 6, 1863, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 658–659.

[14] Welles to Bell, November 9, 1863, *ibid,* 666.

[15] Captain James H. Strong to Bell, December 28, 1863, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 741.

[16] Rear Admiral Farragut to George S. Denison, Esq., Collector of Customs, New Orleans, La., December 10, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 19, 399.

[17] Bee, Fort Brown, to General (?), February 15, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XV, 978–981.

lion's share of a shipment of 65,000 rifles originally purchased by México from New York merchants.[18]

Deeply impressed by the rapidity with which the trade at his diplomatic post was growing, the United States Consul at Matamoros, L. Pierce, anxiously informed his superior that, "Matamoros is now the great thoroughfare to the Southern States . . . they pass all of the supplies they receive through here."[19] And to an important naval officer of the blockade he worriedly exclaimed:

> I am afraid that our Government undervalues the possession of this frontier. It is now the grand thoroughfare for their foreign mails, passengers, commissioners, cotton, or indeed anything that they wish. [re: the Confederacy][20]

But on the Confederate side the only complaint with regard to the trade that was heard was that there were often more supplies waiting at Matamoros than could be paid for.[21] In August, 1863, Commander M. Woolsey, U.S.N., declared pointedly that the immense trade between Brownsville and Matamoros was big enough to pay completely for the expense of the army stopping it.[22] This keen observer's view was amazingly accurate for at the height of the trade the revenues collected by Matamoros approximated the staggering sum of $125,000 per month.[23]

Cotton was the very life's blood of the Brownsville-Matamoros exchange. At this period of history both the English and the French textile industries were largely dependent on Southern cotton. In France the textile industry occupied the first place in the nation's economy. England had half of her foreign trade and a full fifth of her population committed to the manufacture of cotton goods.[24] True, the British had built up such a huge store of cotton that the initial curtailment of Southern cotton imports did not immediately affect her but on the contrary administered a salutary effect on the economy by consuming excess stores. But by 1862 these and all other stores were completely exhausted with the tragic consequence that masses of workers and scores of textile plants became idle. The effect on France resulting from the War was even more severe,

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18 *Ibid.*, 978–981.
19 Pierce to Seward, March 1, 1862, *O.R.*, I, IX, 674.
20 Pierce to Lieutenant Charles Hunter, U. S. N., April 24, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 18, 456.
21 Bee, Fort Brown, to Turner, August 15, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XXVI, pt. 2, 169.
22 Woolsey to Captain J. P. Gillis, U. S. N., *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 467.
23 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 128.
24 Oliver Perry Chitwood and Frank L. Owsley, *A Short History of the American People*, New York, 1947, I, 750–756.

for, unlike England, she had had no cotton reserves to tide her over even for a short space of time. Though willing, but not able, the South during the War could not export more than one-tenth of her usual quantity of cotton exports. That even *this small amount* got through was due solely to the risks of the blockade-runners and the vital Brownsville-Matamoros trade route.[25]

With cotton at such a high premium it is not difficult to understand why the purveyors of the South's war needs accepted only cotton in payment.[26] The Confederacy, therefore, was very careful that the collection and disposal of that important item was given every possible safeguard. Nevertheless, counter-bidding of Government, State, and private agents frequently led to disproportionate prices.[27] In order to counteract such drawbacks the Confederacy set up the Cotton Bureau. But even such a centralized agency was unable completely to control the situation. A case in point was the order of the Bureau in 1863 that the exchange of cotton west of the Mississippi was to be sharply restricted. Immediately they received a baneful warning from General J. Bankhead Magruder, in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, that if such an order were carried out it would result in the immediate abandonment of the strategic Mexican border since cotton was the only means at his disposal for maintaining his troops.[28]

Owsley estimates that a major part of the approximately 1,000,000 bales of cotton smuggled through the blockade from 1862 to 1864 went through the Mexican route. This gives us a further idea of the great economic importance of this illegal traffic for cotton in 1864 was selling in Liverpool at $300 a bale.

Procurement of supplies was managed in two ways: (1) directly by the Department of War itself, and/or, (2) by contracts with private firms or agents. Major Caleb Huse was the capable officer charged by the Department with arranging its purchases in Europe. He was at first apparently at a disadvantage because of the South's inability to negotiate loans in Europe, since it was recognized only as a belligerent.[29] But as we have seen, this problem was quickly

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[25] Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Economic History,* New York, 1949, 354.

[26] Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy,* 127.

[27] Colonel P. N. Luckett, Fort Brown, to the Assistant Adjutant General, January 26, 1863, *O.R.,* I, XV, 961.

[28] Magruder, San Antonio, Texas, to General Cooper, March, 1863, *O.R.,* I, XV, 1030.

[29] Caleb Huse, *The Supplies for the Confederate Army: How They Were Obtained and How Paid For,* Boston, 1904, 23.

removed by the demand for cotton. Funds were amply provided for Major Huse through the firm of Fraser, Trenholm, and Company of Liverpool. This astute company was in turn composed of the firms of: Fraser, Trenholm and Company, the John Fraser Company of Charleston, South Carolina, and the strategically placed company of Trenholm Brothers in New York.[30] All of the cotton purchased by the Government was consigned to this one firm which in its turn was charged with the power to keep Army, Navy and Diplomatic Department consignments separate.[31]

At the other end of the route, in Matamoros proper, the majority of the merchants were foreigners: French, English, and German. Among those expressly mentioned by the records are: Messrs. Brown, Fleming and Company, Mr. Redgate, a Lloyd's of London agent, and Mr. Harding of the firm of Harding, Pullin, and Company of London. The latter was the factor for receiving the proceeds in cotton, for making the appropriate distributions to the shipper of war material, and agent for effecting the necessary insurance for all shipments.[32]

Further south at Monterrey was the firm of Oliver and Brothers. Also in the same area was J. E. Schenk, a German-born American citizen, who busily engaged in the purchase of all available quicksilver, sulphur, percussion caps, and any of the saltpeter overlooked by Oliver and Brothers.[33]

Probably the most important figure of the Mexican side of the trade was Santiago Vidaurri, the cunning Governor of Nuevo León and Coahuila, real controller of Tamaulipas, and immensely influential in Chihuahua and Sonora. Every artifice at his ample disposal was employed by him to channel the significant proceeds from the trade into his private coffers. One of the most lucrative of his sidelines was his partnership with his Irish-born son-in-law Patrick, or Patricio Milmo, in the export-import firm of Milmo and Company of Monterrey. Not the least of their assets was the private financial indebtedness to Milmo of Major Simeon Hart, chief quartermaster at Brownsville, which debt Milmo and Vidaurri used as an incentive to the Major to see to it that tidy little contracts were placed in their hands.[34] In addition, Vidaurri usually was the final recipient of

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30 *Ibid.*, 16.
31 *Ibid.*, 23.
32 Anonymous letter to F. H. Morse, U. S. Consul at London, November 24, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 19, 419.
33 John M. Coe to Franklin Chase, Esq., Zacatecas, January 2, 1862, *O.R.*, I, 9, 642–643.
34 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 136.

the $96,000 in tariff duties gleaned from cotton passing through his territory on its way overseas.[35]

According to the records one of the principal firms taking part in the traffic in Brownsville was the firm of King and Kennedy who even owned their own contraband carrier, the *Matamoros,* plying the trade in the guise of a Mexican merchant ship. This ship was later seized by the alert blockading squadron.[36]

We shall now consider briefly the actual mechanics employed in the procurement of the supplies. When the Department of War negotiated directly it would first have the Chief of Ordnance and the Quartermaster draw up the list of needed supplies. Agents in México were then contacted or special men assigned to the job. These agents proceeded to negotiate contracts directly with the manufacturers for the delivery of the supplies to Matamoros. After crossing the river, transportation of the goods was taken care of by the District of Texas under the personal supervision of its commanding general.[37]

Nevertheless, whether by state or individual, the actual exchange and smuggling of the commodities was usually identical for goods coming from outside of Mexico. First, the munitions and the other required supplies were purchased either by the Confederate Government—as in the case where they contracted for the entire output of the London Armory Company—[38] or, as was more usual by joint-stock companies of avid speculators. The latter sent their merchandise to Matamoros under their own flag at a stipulated price above cost and charges. Foremost in this scheme of trade were the ever-present British merchants with Fraser, Trenholm and Company of Liverpool competing with Begbie's of London for first place.[39]

Every possible type of ship was diverted to the Confederate trade by these merchants: converted private yachts, former British

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35 Major General Herron, U. S. A., to Brigadier General C. P. Stone, February 2, 1864, *O.R.*, I, XXXIV, pt. 2, 222.

36 First Lieutenant Walter L. Mann, C.S.A., Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Lavaca, Texas, to Brigadier H. P. Bee, November 30, 1863, *O.R.*, I, 20, 684. For some information of Vidaurri's machinations see, Romero to Seward, United States Department of State, *Papers Relative to Mexican Affairs,* Washington, D. C., 1865, 393. See also Appendix to this paper.

37 G. W. Randolph, Confederate Secretary of War, to Major Simeon Hart, November 14, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XV, 866. See also Appendix to this paper.

38 Huse, *Supplies for the Confederate Army,* 24.

39 F. H. Morse, U. S. Consul, London, to the Honorable William A. Seward, United States Secretary of State, November 28, 1862, *O.R.*, I, 19, 418.

coastal, traders, ex-channel ferries, and re-assigned Chinese opium smugglers.[40] Many of the clandestinely employed ships were captained by United States naval officers attracted by the high pay for blockade running.[41] As a preliminary safety measure English, Mexican, and Union flags were carried for display at the appropriate times and places.[42] Incriminating contraband was never outrightly declared, and every one of the multiplicity of ingenious contrivances known to professional smugglers was employed fully. Such was the case of the British schooner *Will O' the Wisp,* boarded by an inspecting party from the *U. S. S. Montgomery* on June 3, 1862. A careful scrutiny of her manifest revealed no illegal cargo. Her destination was innocently listed as Matamoros, but upon close inspection it was revealed that her hold full of fish barrels and bags was in reality a floating munitions dump of gunpowder. Further search revealed large quantities of percussion caps, army shoes, and clothing.[43]

Two alternatives were open to European exporters for the delivery of their clandestine shipments: consign the lot to merchants in Matamoros and thence merely carry it across the river; or, simply address the goods to persons on the Mexican side and once safely through the blockade, dock at Brownsville's port instead.[44]

Delivering the precious cotton was another matter, and in a way, frought with more difficulties. After the cotton had been collected by Government or State purchasing agents it was loaded on mule– or ox–drawn carts and wagons which then wended their long way to the hot Texas coast or to the frontier. Governor Murrah of Texas devised a system of trade by which the vendor of the cotton could transport it at his own expense and risk. The seller was allowed to retain one-half of the sales price for his own use but with the other half he must buy State bonds at their specie value. In addition, the merchants were required to pay the usual tithes and export duties to the Confederate Government. Yet, even taking all of this plus the fact that the cost of transporation alone equalled

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40 Huse, *Supplies for the Confederate Army,* 25.

41 *Ibid.,* 25.

42 Lieutenant Commander R. F. R. Lewis, U. S. S. gunboat *Itasca,* to Welles, June 18, 1863, *O.R.N.,* I, 20, 303.

43 Lieutenant Charles Hunter, U.S.N., off the Rio Grande, to Welles, June 3, 1863, *O.R.N.,* I, 18, 525.

44 George S. Denison, New York, N. Y., to Salmon P. Chase, May, 1862, A. B. Hart, ed., "Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase," in, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* Washington, D. C., 1903, I, 302. See also Bee to Turner, *O.R.,* I, XXVI, pt. 2, 169.

half of the value of the cotton, the trade was so rich in returns that businessmen still crowded the market.[45]

At the coast the bales were transferred to light-draught, blockade-runners which then stealthily made their run southward taking full advantage of the protection afforded by the numerous bays and bayous of the Gulf Coast. Once safely over the bar into the port of Matamoros they transferred their loads to Europe or New York bound merchant-ships.[46] Or, if the cotton was sent from Brownsville it was carried by Army requisitioned steamboats flying the Mexican flag. These smugglers took extreme care to keep on the Mexican side of the river all of the way to the transfer point at the Mexican port. They were thus in a measure immune to seizure by the exasperated Union pickets.[47]

Everyday episodes like the above hint at a stronger Confederate control of the supposedly Mexican port than is superficially apparent. Several outstanding incidents serve to confirm this suspicion. On the 28th of May, 1863, two American vessels, the *General C. C. Pinckney* and the sloop *Lapwing,* were captured while riding at anchor in the peaceful waters of Mexican territory by a group of bold Texans who then probably converted their prizes into blockade-runners.[48] Just a few months later Master Charles T. Chase of the *U. S. S. Antona* was kidnapped in Matamoros and carried off to Brownsville.[49] A final striking example may prove the true nature of nominally Mexican Matamoros. On Christmas Eve of 1863 the loud celebrating of the crews on board the U. S. pick-ships *Monongahela* and *Ossippe* were drowned out throughout the night by an: "... almost universal singing of Confederate songs, firing of guns, cheering for the rebels, etc., among the shipping (at Matamoros."[50]

About the fourth year of the war the Confederate method of procuring supplies was drastically altered. The Confederate government thenceforth made all contracts directly in Richmond with new contractors and agents. By the new system of agreements the contracting party shared equally the freighting capacity of each

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[45] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* San Francisco, 1889, II, 474.

[46] Colonel H. E. McCulloch, San Antonio, Texas, to General Cooper, October 17, 1861, *O.R.,* I, IV, 122. See also *O.R.N.,* I, 21, 652.

[47] Commander J. H. Strong, U. S. N., to Bell, December 28, 1863, *O.R.N.,* I, 20, 741.

[48] Pierce to Bell, May 28, 1863, *O.R.N.,* I, 20, 289.

[49] Extract from the Diary of Commodore Bell, July 27, 1863, *ibid.,* 762.

[50] Commander Strong to Bell, December 28, 1863, *ibid.,* 741.

blockade-runner: a system which soon resulted in a radical shrinkage of the quantity of supplies coming in.[51] In addition keeping separate accounts for the disposal of Army, Navy, and Diplomatic Corps was abandoned in favor of a policy of assigning only part of the profits to the Army and letting the contractors keep the rest.[52] This policy eventually proved disastrous. Huse complained that this system led to much shipping of cotton but few supplies in return. Consequently, he held it responsible as one of the primary reasons for the ultimate defeat of the Confederacy.

The Confederate States of America were well aware that favorable relations must be maintained at all times and at any cost with the major contributors of their war material. Among these principal sources, i.e., México, France, and Great Britain, attention was centered on México as the crucial power.

> As might not appear at first thought, Mexico was from many angles the most vital foreign problem with which the Confederacy had to grapple. It was the only neutral country from which the Confederates could not be cut off by the blockade; it could sell the Confederates large quantities of supplies of war; it could further act as a medium for the transfer of much of the contraband from Europe to the Confederacy.[53]

The Confederates showed that they fully realized this important point by assigning only the most capable men as diplomatic agents to Mexico. To the border zone were appointed Colonel J. S. Ford, General S. S. Sibley, and thirty-nine year old Brigadier General Hamilton Prioleau Bee. General Bee in particular rendered outstanding service as a diplomat. He was no doubt much aided by his constant contact with the Mexican people since he had fought against them in the Mexican War. Later he had gained additional experience and prestige through his service as a state senator and lieutenancy in the colorful Texas Rangers. Unfortunately his unquestioned ability as a diplomat did not match his ability as a leader on the field for he was easily outmaneuvered from his excellent position at Monette's Ferry, Louisiana, by Major General William H. Emory during the ill-fated Red River campaign.[54]

In addition, the Confederate government had in Mexico proper the extremely capable John T. Pickett, accredited to the general government of Mexico, Richard Fitzpatrick at Matamoros, and the

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51 Huse, *Supplies for the Confederate Army*, 27,
52 *Ibid.*, 27.
53 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 88.
54 Richard B. Irwin, "The Red River Campaign," in Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, New York, 1884, 357–358.

suave Juan A. Quintero in Nuevo León and Coahuila.[55] The "indispensable" Quintero made his headquarters at Monterrey, Nuevo León. Owsley cannot praise this Cuban-born Confederate, who lived in Mexico most of his life, too much. He distinguishes Quintero "as perhaps one of the ablest and successful agents sent to foreign countries by the South."[56] These men were faced by the profoundly difficult task of making and maintaining rapport with a people whose bitterness and enmity the South had incurred as a consequence of the Texas revolt and the humiliating Mexican War, and striving to meet the challenge of an ever-changing Mexican political scene and the French invasion.

As we shall see later, the Confederates were generally unsuccessful with the Liberal Mexican central government but this failure lapses into comparative insignificance when we consider the close though unstable coöperation that they received from the border States. This was not entirely due to superior diplomacy but in a large measure to the four advantages that these States saw in preserving the trade. These stimuli were: first, their opportunity to sell their products to the Confederates at an enormous profit, products which they were unable to sell to the United States for lack of communication; second, they served as middle-men for European imports and for cotton exports from the Confederacy, thus enjoying more business opportunities; third, the traffic of goods poured a constant stream of money into their custom houses; fourth, these states saw a powerful ally in the Confederate States of America to sustain them in their struggle with the central Mexican government for power.[57] The north Mexican border states, therefore, had everything to gain and practically nothing to lose in maintaining the illegal trade.

One of the first instances that we have manifesting the attitude of the border states is a letter from Governor Vidaurri to Quintero, dated May 1861, in which that ambitious Caudillo expresses the desire of allying his States to the Confederacy, and, even, if necessary, to actually be annexed into the Confederate States of America.[58] However, there are no indications that either party followed through on the matter.

Early in January 1862, General Sibley extracted an agreement from Governor Luis Terrazas of Chihuahua to permit the passage

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55 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 88.
56 *Ibid.*, 120.
57 *Ibid.*, 119.
58 *Ibid.*, 121.

of goods through his State to Texas.[59] But this initially optimistic atmosphere soon was marred by a new scene in the kaleidoscope of Mexican politics when in March, 1862, one of the many revolutionists at large, J. M. I. Carvajal, led a series of raids on Vidaurri's territory from Brownsville with the sanction of his good friend Colonel Ford. Burning with anger at what he considered a foul act of treachery on the part of the supposedly intimate Confederacy Vidaurri retaliated by threatening to close the frontier to any further commerce with them, and to show seriousness of his threat (as well as to take advantage of the situation to increase his already bulging coffers) he immediately slapped an additional duty of two cents per pound on the export *and* the import of cotton, as well as increasing the ordinary transportation and harbor duties. He was able to persist in these measures until July 5, 1862, at which time he had cooled off sufficiently to re-establish the status quo ante.[60] Shortly thereafter, in September, the Confederates received a further relief by the lowering of export duties to Texas by their warm friend J. A. Zambrano, chief inspector of the Matamoros custom house.[61]

The explosive Vidaurri did not remain inert for long, however, for in November of that same year (1862) he seized fifteen million dollars of Confederate currency, which had been placed in the care of Milmo and Company, at the suggestion of Major Russell for transportation across Eagle Pass to Texas. As a justification for this action Vidaurri declared that the funds were being held in lieu of Major Hart's unpaid debt. However, since two could play at this game of wits, General E. Kirby-Smith promptly retaliated by halting the export of cotton and prohibiting the departure of Mexican property.[62]

In the meantime, Thomas Corwin, United States Minister to the Juárez government had induced the swarthy Mexican President to issue an order to Vidaurri and the other border governors to cease all commercial intercourse with the Confederates, and the better to enforce his decree, to declare martial law on the frontier.[63] When Vidaurri scornfully ignored his commands Juárez had him forthwith removed from office. The troublesome ex-governor later joined Emperor Maximilian's forces and was captured and shot

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[59] Governor Luis Terrazas, Camp Carrisal, Chihuahua, to General Sibley, January 11, 1862, *O.R.*, I, IV, 172.

[60] Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 129–133.

[61] Pierce to Commander H. French, September 16, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 19, 293.

[62] Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 136.

[63] *Ibid.*, 118.

as a traitor by order of Juárez in June, 1867.[64] However, the Confederates had yet to await the reaction of the other governors, especially that of Governor Albino López of the key state of Tamaulipas. General Bee was prepared to seize Matamoros if López should prove more obedient to Juárez than Vidaurri had been. López was not, so the trade continued tranquilly.[65]

Tranquilly, that is, until a band of Texans boldly snatched Judge J. E. Davis, Hamilton Montgomery, and other Texan Union sympathizers from the walks of Matamoros. This flagrant violation of jurisdiction immediately resulted in a new threat by Governor López that if the prisoners were not safely returned and the proper apologies presented he would close the border to the Confederacy. Not wishing to destroy friendly relations, the Confederates, after stalling the issue long enough to have the unpopular Montgomery permanently confined to Texan soil, complied by returning the remaining prisoners.[66]

Bee, during these crises, had followed the wise policy of intensifying his purchases should the Mexican Government go as far as to proclaim a decree of non-intervention, even though he did not seriously believe that the local authorities would enforce such an order.[67] In June of 1863 there ensued a short interlude in this dangerous game for the Matamoros trade route when one General José María Cobos "liberated" and "unified" both Brownsville and Matamoros.[68]

While this was transpiring López had been removed from office and replaced by Don Manuel Ruíz. The energetic new governor turned the entire situation topsy-turvy by ignoring or rescinding all the treaties and agreements which his immediate predecessors had made with the Confederate States. One of these treaties had specified the boundaries between Tamaulipas and Texas. Other agreements had considered all ships entered at the Mexican customs house at Matamoros, and at anchor in the open sea adjacent to the Río Grande, as entitled to Mexican protection. Governor Ruíz completely reversed these favors, and what is more, he allowed the occupation and use of Mexican territory to the U. S. Navy as a base of operations for its blockade. He also established an imaginary

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[64] Henry Bamford Park, *A History of Mexico*, Boston, 1893, 273.
[65] Bee, San Antonio, Texas, to Lieutenant Colonel Anderson, November 30, 1862, *O.R.*, I, XV, 881.
[66] Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 133.
[67] Bee to Dickenson, February 10, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XV, 1025.
[68] Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 134.

line with the United States defining the maritime boundary between Mexico and the United States so that the blockading squadron could search, and if need be, seize suspected vessels more effectively. This new boundary considered only ships south of the line as being in neutral waters.[69] Happily for the Confederates, none of these new adverse compacts had a serious effect on the continuance of the trade, owing to the success of excellent blockade-runners and the ever present political confusion in Mexico.

In the meantime the Confederates had re-occupied Brownsville but had in their turn been driven out by General N. P. Banks' coastal expedition. When Banks' forces were called north to take part in the Red River campaign, control of the Río Grande fell again to the Confederates (except for a small Union garrison on Brazos Island). All of these important events took place in the short period between November 6, 1863 and July 30, 1864.

While Banks' troops had been fighting their way into Brownsville in November, 1863, Commodore H. H. Bell, Commander of the Western Gulf Blockading Squadron, received the following terse message from Commander Strong of the *Monongahela* off the Río Grande:

> There is a revolution going on in Matamoros. They have had three governors in the last two days. Governor Cobos and Lieutenant-Governor Vila were shot by order of Cortina and one took refuge at Brownsville.[70]

General Juan Nepomuceno Cortina had for a long time been a nemesis of the Texan border zone. He had been brought up on his mother's rancho nine miles above Brownsville and in 1847 had initiated his bandit career by murdering his American employer and selling his victim's mules to the United States Government to be used against Mexico.[71] Among the more notorious of his many border forays had been the capture of Brownsville, Río Grande City, and Fort Ringold in 1859, and the burning of Roma, Texas, in 1860.[72]

Paralleling these happenings was the steady advance of the French into the north of Mexico hot behind Juárez's troops. Even though a Union sympathizer, Juárez, desperately in need of revenues

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[69] Bee, Fort Brown, to Governor Manuel Ruiz, August 14, 1863, *O.R.*, XXVI, pt. 2, 167.

[70] Commander Strong to Commodore Bell, November 12, 1863, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 668.

[71] Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 443, footnote number 22.

[72] *Ibid.*, 444.

from the border trade, had been forced to keep the trade route open.[73] The Confederates overwhelmingly welcomed the prospect of a French-controlled Mexico. No sooner had Napoleon III's forces secured a foothold on Mexican territory than Jefferson Davis addressed the First Confederate Congress with the words: "... we may confidently expect the continuance of those peaceful relations which have been maintained on the frontier, and an even larger development of the commerce already existing to the mutual advantage of both countries."[74]

The French on their part enthusiastically received this sentiment and reciprocated, for they realized that an independent South would not only assure them a continued supply for their textile mills but, of more immediate importance, they saw a Confederate victory as the only hope for the success of their venture in Mexico.[75]

In September, 1864, 5,000 French Imperial troops captured Bagdad, port of Matamoros, as a step in the campaign against Cortina at Matamoros. Cortina with 3,000 men and 16 pieces of artillery, engaged this strong force on September 6. During the battle, Jefferson Davis' confident expectations for the continuance of peaceful relations on the frontier were given a practical expression when Colonel Ford of Brownsville appeared on the other side of the Río Grande with a large herd of cattle for the use of the French troops and then immediately crossed the river to attack Cortina's rear. Nevertheless, Cortina succeeded in repulsing both Confederates and French.[76]

Highly enraged at Ford's action, Cortina had scarcely given his men a rest after the battle, when he crossed over to Brownsville with his entire force, including artillery, and drove the Texans from the town. He took official possession in the name of the United States, raised the Federal flag, duly informed the Union commander at Brazos Santiago of the conquest, and placed Brownsville at his disposal.[77] However, the Federals do not seem to have accepted the offer. Just weeks later we find a conciliatory Cortina signing an agreement with none other than his recent enemy, Colonel J. S. Ford, allowing a "... free and unrestricted intercourse of persons and merchandise across the Río Grande." Of course, he made the

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73 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 144.
74 Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, I, 360.
75 Chitwood and Owsley, *A Short History*, 468.
76 Bancroft, *Works*, XVI, 468.
77 *Ibid.*, 468.

sole stipulation that they be subject to the usual customhouse and police regulations.[78]

The first indication that the true importance of the Brownsville-Matamoros trade route had been grasped by Union leaders was the granting of permission by the then Flag-officer Farragut for the investigation and seizure of vessels and property coming out of Boca Chica and Brazos Santiago, because as he said, it was, "clearly an entrance into enemy territory."[79] As might well be expected, such an all-inclusive order soon had international repercussions, especially in the case of the seizure of the English steamer *Labuan* off Boca Chica. This incident led Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to order Farragut to refrain from capturing ships off of the Río Grande unless the vessel were obviously on its way to a Texan port and only after it had been warned of the blockade.[80]

Welles preferred less internationally hazardous means of stopping the trade. He therefore urgently recommended to Secretary of War Stanton that a sufficient Federal force be sent to seize and occupy Brownsville in order to halt the insidious contraband.[81] To this urgent plea Stanton replied in the negative, stating as his reason that "... the condition of the United States forces does not admit at present of the detachment of troops necessary for such an expedition."[82]

A few days before Seward had made this plea Commander Swarthout, cruising off of the Río Grande, reported to Farragut that from his experience it was impossible to prevent illicit trade on the Río Grande unless possession were taken of Brownsville and the American side of the river to its mouth.[83] But the only available record of Union activity in that area at the time is a cryptic message of Lt. J. H. Hunter of the *U. S. S. Montgomery* announcing to "the Confederate Forces at the mouth of the Río Grande" his intentions of bombarding them on the following morning.[84]

As late as the final months of 1863 there was a lack of ships to patrol the mouth of the Río Grande and those few that did

78 Agreement between General Juan N. Cortina, Matamoros, and Colonel J. S. Ford, September 22, 1864, *O.R.*, I, XLI, pt. 3, 958.

79 Flag-officer Farragut, Ship Island, La., to Commander Swarthout, March 14, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 18, 50.

80 Seward, Washington, D. C., to Stanton, March 14, 1862, *O.R.*, I, IX, 641.

81 Welles to Farragut, March 14, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 18, 66.

82 P. H. Watson, Assistant Secretary of War, Washington, D. C., to Seward, March 24, 1862, *O.R.*, I, IX, 655.

83 Swartwout, off Boca Chica, Texas, to Farragut, March 18, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 18, 79.

84 Hunter, April 29, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 18, 458.

sometimes had crews stricken by the yellow fever.[85] The crucial importance of Brownsville grew so obvious that one of the Union's most important confidential agents begged General Nathanial Prentiss Banks to send at least a regiment and a battery to capture it. This alert agent added the helpful suggestion that once the town was in Union hands it could be used as a base where a strong nucleus of refugee Texans and Union sympathizers could be furnished with arms and ammunition, and that this strong little army could then break up the "immense" trade being carried on along the frontier. But again the only reply from the higher powers was an emphatic "No."[86]

While the Federal forces were missing their most inviting opportunities, the Confederates saw the full importance of keeping control of Brownsville. By March, 1863, the Union had reports of 1,400 to 1,500 men, and six guns guarding Brownsville, plus six additional guns on the way from Fort Ringold.[87] As yet there was no artillery at the mouth of the Río Grande. Of course the Federal Government was using every available means at its disposal to stop the trade through diplomatic relations, but, as has been seen, their efforts were for the most part inefficacious owing to the lack of coöperation from the local authorities concerned.

A report was rushed to the office of the Confederate Secretary of War in February of 1863 stating that the United States Government had an expedition of 5,000 men on their way from Tucson, Arizona, with the express object of crushing the Brownsville trade.[88] The alarmed Confederates immediately set about a feverish attempt to gain further information on the threatening expedition and hurriedly appropriated $1,500 of their precious specie to stimulate informers through their secret agents in New York and Matamoros.[89] This seems to have turned out to be a false alarm, but the indications of a dangerous new move by the Federals was correct.

Reports began to trickle in to General Bee of a new and more serious probable attempt against the supply lines by Union occupa-

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[85] Rear Admiral Farragut to Secretary of the Navy Welles, October 9, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 19, 289.

[86] Denison, (no place given) to Chase, December 20, 1863, in Hart, "Diary," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 427.

[87] Extract from the diary of Commodore H. H. Bell, U. S. N., 1863, Number 6, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 754.

[88] J. A. Quintero, Monterrey, Mexico, to J. P. Benjamin, April 20, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XXVI, pt. 2, 49.

[89] Major General John Bankhead Magruder, Houston, Texas, to General Cooper, June 8, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XXVI, pt. 1, 64.

tion of the Texas coastal plain from Lavaca to San Antonio.[90] But Welles desired instead a direct blow at the very heart of the trade. He was backed in this aim by the Commander-in-Chief himself, Lincoln, who was anxious that Texas be occupied in view of a possible French alliance with the Confederacy.[91]

Thus, on October 26, 1863, General N. P. Banks, Commander in the Southwest, sent 8,000 men of Major General C. C. Washburn's Thirteenth Corps from New Orleans in twenty-six transports convoyed by the *Monongahela,* the *Owasco,* and the *Virginia,* with the objective of occupying every pass and inlet on the Gulf from the Río Grande to the Sabine River. The first and most important landing was made by Major-General N. J. T. Dana on Brazos Santiago Island at the mouth of the Río Grande on November 2. Next day he drove the small Confederate force opposing him inland and by November 6 had driven thirty miles up the river to Brownsville, which he occupied with 3,000 men. Finally, on November 8 he closed the last link in the important chain by taking Point Isabel. Thence the expedition proceeded to move up the coast and accomplished its mission.[92] By December 28, 1863, the only point from Galveston to the Río Grande open to blockade-runners was the mouth of the Brazos River.[93]

An international incident nearly occurred at Brownsville-Matamoros, when, owing to the danger occasioned by Cortina's attack on Matamoros, the Union Consul, Pierce, asked General Banks for protection. General Banks had promptly complied by bringing his artillery to bear on Matamoro's Castle and would have opened fire had not Seward immediately wired that there would be war and that if the Consul wanted protection he must come to Brownsville for it.[94] When John Hay later asked Seward if he knew about the three revolutions that had taken place at Matamoros, Seward had answered "Yes," and after recounting to Hay Banks' near *faux pas* he added exasperatingly that, "Firing upon the town would involve us in a war with the Lord knows who."[95]

Union occupation of Brownsville and the Texas Coast had immediate devastating effects on Confederate plans. Cotton had to

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[90] Bee, Fort Brown, to Turner, August 14, 1863, *O.R.*, I, XXVI, pt. 2, 161, 181.

[91] Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay,* New York, 1939 (Diary, August 9, 1863), 77.

[92] Johnson, *Battles and Leaders,* IV, 346. See also Bancroft, *Works,* XVI, 466; and, Strong to Bell, November 10, 1863, *O.R.*, I, 20, 667.

[93] Strong to Bell, December 28, 183, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 742.

[94] Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War,* (Diary) November 22, 1863, 124.

[95] *Ibid.*, 124.

be re-routed in Mexico further south to Tampico and further west in Texas to Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras.[96] The situation became more grave when a withering drought struck the plains of eastern Mexico and western Texas that year.[97] The net result for the desperate Confederates may be summed up as "no cotton, no supplies," or prelude to defeat. The blockading squadron was also faced with the dilemma of whether or not they were still authorized to seize ships trading with Matamoros.[98] However, the dilemma was soon solved by Lincoln's official lifting of the blockade on that port and opening it to legitimate trade on February 18, 1864.[99]

But these important gains were completely nullified when the "Bobbing Boy of Massachusetts," Banks, was ordered north with his army to take part in the Red River campaign. By July 30, 1864, the deserted town of Brownsville was re-occupied by a small army composed of its own citizens.[100] On August 15, 1864, the Navy Department ordered the resumption of the blockade on Brownsville and the Río Grande.[101]

Just a few words may be said on this phase of attempts to cut off the trade route. Generally the method employed in the blockade was as follows: First, every vessel arriving in the vicinity was boarded. If after a thorough examination the inspector was assured that the cargo was actually intended for Matamoros and all of the ship's papers were found to be in order, then the ship's captain was made to sign a certificate pledging his direct docking at Matamoros without passing over or through any part of Texas, before the vessel was allowed to proceed. Sometimes, also the traders were required to obtain and show a "certificate of honesty of intention" from the English (if the ship was English) and American consuls at Matamoros.[102]

Except for a few minor skirmishes no further news is heard from Brownsville until May 11, 1865, five days after the formal surrender of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, when a new expeditionary force closed in on the still important town of Brazos Santiago. On May 12 and 13 it fell upon a strong Confed-

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96 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 137; Farragut to Bell, June 20, 1863, *O.R.N.*, I, 20, 308.
97 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 137.
98 Gillis to Bell, December 15, 1863, *O.R.N.*, 1, 20, 725.
99 Official proclamation, *O.R.N.*, I, 21, 111–112.
100 Captain James H. Fry, Fort Brown, to Headquarters, Expeditionary Forces, August 4, 1864, *O.R.*, I, XLI, pt. 2, 185–186.
101 Seward to Welles, August 15, 1864, *O.R.N.*, I, 21, 605.
102 Swartwout to Farragut, March 15, 1862, *O.R.N.*, I, 18, 78.

erate outpost at Palmetto Ranch, near the blood-stained, Mexican War battlefield of Palo Alto. Here, General J. E. Slaughter engaged a force of 500 Union troops under Colonel Theodore Barrett.[103] These two days saw some very sharp skirmishing but they only approached large-scale proportions when the Confederates brought up six 12-pound field guns, flanked the Union forces, and finally forced them to withdraw somewhere between White's Ranch and Boca Chica. As the Federals retreated under the protection of the approaching darkness of May 13, 1865, the exhausted soldiers of the Sixty-second Colored Infantry paused briefly and fired the last volley of the war.[104]

BROTHER AVILA LARIOS, F.S.C.

Christian Brothers School
Sacramento, California

Appendix

Letter of Instructions to a Confederate Agent *

Department of State, Richmond, Va., September 3, 1861.
J. A. Quinterro, [sic] Esq.

Sir: The report of your recent mission to the Governor of New Leon and the accompanying papers have received the entire approval of this Department, and it affords me pleasure to inform you that the President, appreciating the skill, prudence, and ability which you displayed in the discharge of your duty, has appointed you confidential agent of this Government in northeastern Mexico, to reside at Monterey [sic].

You will receive your commission as such and a letter from the Secretary of State to His Excellency, Governor Vidaurri. It is the desire of the President that you should proceed to Monterey with all convenient dispatch, and place yourself in confidential communication with the Governor of New Leon, in response to whose expressed wish, that a confidential agent of this Government should be appointed to reside at Monterey, the President has commissioned you to act in that capacity. You will assure His Excellency that the President cordially reciprocates his expressions of friendship and good will toward the Confederate States, and that it is the Presi-

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103 Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, II, 475. See also, Francis T. Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, New York, 1912, III, 346.

104 Colonel Theodore Barrett, Camp near Brownsville, Texas to General (?), August 10, 1865, *O.R.*, I, XLIII, pt. 1, 265–267. See also, Miller, *Photographic History of the Civil War*, 267–269; and, Bancroft, II, 476.

* In Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II, 79.

dent's earnest desire and purpose to cherish and maintain relations of amity and good neighborhood between the Government and people of the two countries.

The President is much gratified to learn from so high an authority as Governor Vidaurri that the people of New Leon and the adjacent provinces of northern Mexico are animated by such friendly feelings toward the Confederate States as those described by the Governor in his conversation with you. It is manifestly to the interest of both people that intimate social and commercial relations should subsist between them, and the President will use his best effort to preserve this promising condition of things. The President is of the opinion, however, that it would be imprudent and impolitic in the interest of both parties to take any steps at present in regard to the proposition of Governor Vidaurri in his confidential communications with you in reference to the future political relations of the Confederate States feels a deep sympathy with all people struggling to secure for themselves the blessings of self-government, and is, therefore, much interested in the cause and progress of these provinces. It will be one of the principal objects of your mission to collect and transmit accurate and minute information with regard to these provinces, the amount of the population of each, divided into races and classes, the superficial area of the several provinces, their products, mineral resources, etc., the amount and value of their exports and imports, the state and extent of their manufactures, and the general condition of the people in a social, political and commercial point of view. You will immediately inquire and report to this Department whether the Mexican Government has, as it is reported, given permission to the United States to transport troops and munitions of war across Mexican territory for the purpose of attacking the Confederate States.

You will avail yourself of the good offices of Governor Vidaurri to obtain the most authentic information on this subject; and if it should prove that the Federal Government of Mexico has given such permission, you will express the confident hope entertained by this Government that Governor Vidaurri will use his power and influence to prevent the commission of so flagrant a violation of the neutrality of Mexico, and the disastrous consequences which must necessarily ensue.

Your prompt attention is especially requested to the most diligent inquiry as to the possibility of purchasing small arms, powder, lead, sulphur, saltpeter, and other articles necessary for the Army of the Confederate States. If Governor Vidaurri could be induced to sell this Government a half of any considerable portion of the arms in his possession, his doing so would be regarded as the most signal and valuable proof of his friendship for the Confederate Government and people. But if he should judge it to be inconsistent with his duty to dispose of any arms at his command, you will solicit his aid and advice to discover if any arms can be obtained from private individuals in New Leon or any other of the adjacent friendly provinces.

You mentioned in your verbal report to this Department that you were confident that arms and all other things required by the Government of the Confederate States could be safely imported at Matamoras, consigned to citizens of New Leon, and that the necessary papers to exempt the vessels

carrying goods from seizure by cruisers of the United States would be granted or procured by Governor Vidaurri. Should your hope be well-founded and should the Governor consent to lend us aid in that particular, he would be entitled to our sincere gratitude.

In your report of the 19th of August, in reference to the purchase of powder, lead, etc., you state that any quantity of lead and powder could be obtained at Monterrey—the former at $10.50 per cargo of 300 lbs., or $12.87 ½ per cargo if delivered at Roma, in Texas, and the latter at "a moderate price." You are hereby authorized to contract for 500 tons of lead, to be delivered at Roma, Tex., $12.87 ½ per cargo, and for 200,000 lbs. of powder, to be delivered at the same place at —— per lb. Herewith you will find the order in detail from the War Department. You will communicate to this Department, as often as occasion will permit, all the information you can acquire which in your judgment would be useful to this Government, and you will devote special pain to the acquisition of intelligence in relation to the purchase of those articles which may be needed for the use of our Army. You state in your report of August 22nd that saltpeter in natural formation is found near the Rio Grande, opposite Eagle Pass. You will take especial pains to obtain the best information on this matter—how saltpeter can be made available for use in the Confederate States, in what quantities, how soon, and at what price—and lose no time in communicating the information to this Department.

You will also, while en route to Monterey, inform yourself as to the best and most speedy means of transportation for such articles as you may purchase to the nearest point of railroad or water communication to the Confederate States, and acquaint this Department with the results of your inquiries. You will remain at Monterey until otherwise instructed by this Department, and avail yourself generally of the facilities which your relations with the authorties of Monterey will afford you for rendering valuable service to this Government. Your mission being necessarily one of a secret and confidential nature, you will declare your official character only to Governor Vidaurri and such persons as you may deem it prudent to acquaint with the fact. A careful regard to this prudential course is demanded alike by the consideration for Governor Vidaurri's position and the interests of the mission with which you are interested.

Your salary is fixed at $200 per month, commencing from this date. Herewith you will receive drafts on New Orleans for $500 on account of salary, and $250 as allowance of expenses for travel from this city to Monterey.

I remain, sir, yours respectfully,

WM. M. BROWNE, Assistant Secretary of State.

The *DISEÑO:* A Source for the Geography of California, 1830-1846

In 1769 two hundred and fifty years had elapsed since Hernán Cortés set out from Vera Cruz for Tenochtitlán (Mexico City). The anniversary saw the opening of the last chapter in the history of Spanish expansion in North America when an expedition under the command of Gaspar de Portolá slowly made its way from Baja into Alta California. Spanish control gradually waned after the first decade of the nineteenth century, and the suzerainty of the new Government of Mexico was recognised in April, 1822, and remained to some extent effective until July, 1846—a total span of seventy-seven years. Yet popular settlement scarcely got under way until the last fifteen years. This paper concerns the *diseños,* rough estate plans drawn from about 1830 onwards by or on behalf of applicants for land grants. They are not entirely objective surveys, but reflect the point of view and expectations of the individual settlers, and to this extent form an unusual body of cartographic evidence.

Up to roughly 1835 the Californian scene was dominated by the twenty-one Franciscan missions (see maps) established between 1769 and 1824. Most of the early houses experienced extreme privation, but by 1800 those well established possessed extensive estates comprising arable tracts, largely near at hand, and wide stretches of pasture grazed by cattle, sheep and horses. When, in 1833, the civil authorities finally decided to implement a policy of secularization, that is, in effect the confiscation of mission temporalities, there was some discussion concerning the nature and extent of these properties. It was usually acknowledged that each mission merely held its land in trust, enjoying only the usufruct; there was indeed little or no absolute ownership of land between 1769 and 1822, since the ultimate title rested in the king. How and to whom the land should be disposed of was, however, quite another matter. Secondly, the view was sometimes held that the estates of one mission, in theory or in fact, ended where the next began, except for small enclaves managed by the *presidios* the *pueblos,* and the few private, legally established *rancheros.*[1] In fact, when one examines

[1] "The missions have extended their holdings from one end of the territory to the other and have had a way of banding one piece of property to the next, always opposing the private ownership of land in between." D. M. Wright, ed. and trans., *A Description of California in 1828 by José Bandini,* San Francisco, 1951, 6–7; *Surveyor General of California: Report for 1852,* San Francisco, 21.

the available survey material, the land grant papers *(expedientes)* and the evidence of mission agricultural statistics, it is clear that the estates did not fit together like a jigsaw puzzle, but comprised regularly used land comparatively near at hand, surrounded by a fluctuating zone or zones, further afield along the valleys, only occasionally occupied. Even the latter was rarely in dispute between neighboring houses.[2] The origin, expansion and distribution of the mission estates is, however, a large subject in itself, and this brief outline must suffice for the present. The four *presidios,* military forts, were founded between 1769 and 1782, the two *pueblos* and one *villa*—attempts, none too successful, to establish civil settlements—between 1777 and 1797 (see maps). The *rancho nacional* of the *presidio* and the *pueblo* lands do not concern us.

Finally there was the private grantee, the *ranchero.* From first to last the missions resisted the distribution of isolated blocks of land *(ranchos)* to Spanish or Mexican born settlers, who naturally turned to the strip of country west of the Central Valley opened up and protected by the missions and *presidios.* The missions at the very least feared the gradual penetration of elements likely to make their work more difficult. Usually they could claim with some justification that the land in question was grazed periodically, but this proved less and less efficacious as time went on. The pressure at first was slight, although the authority to create private *ranchos* existed from 1773, and the first was probably sanctioned in 1775. The movement never gathered momentum while Spain was in control, and twenty years later there were probably no more than eight.[3] Few men were available; the *pueblos* were a counter-attraction, and the prospect of disposing of agricultural produce regularly and profitably was poor; above all the missions, at the apogee of

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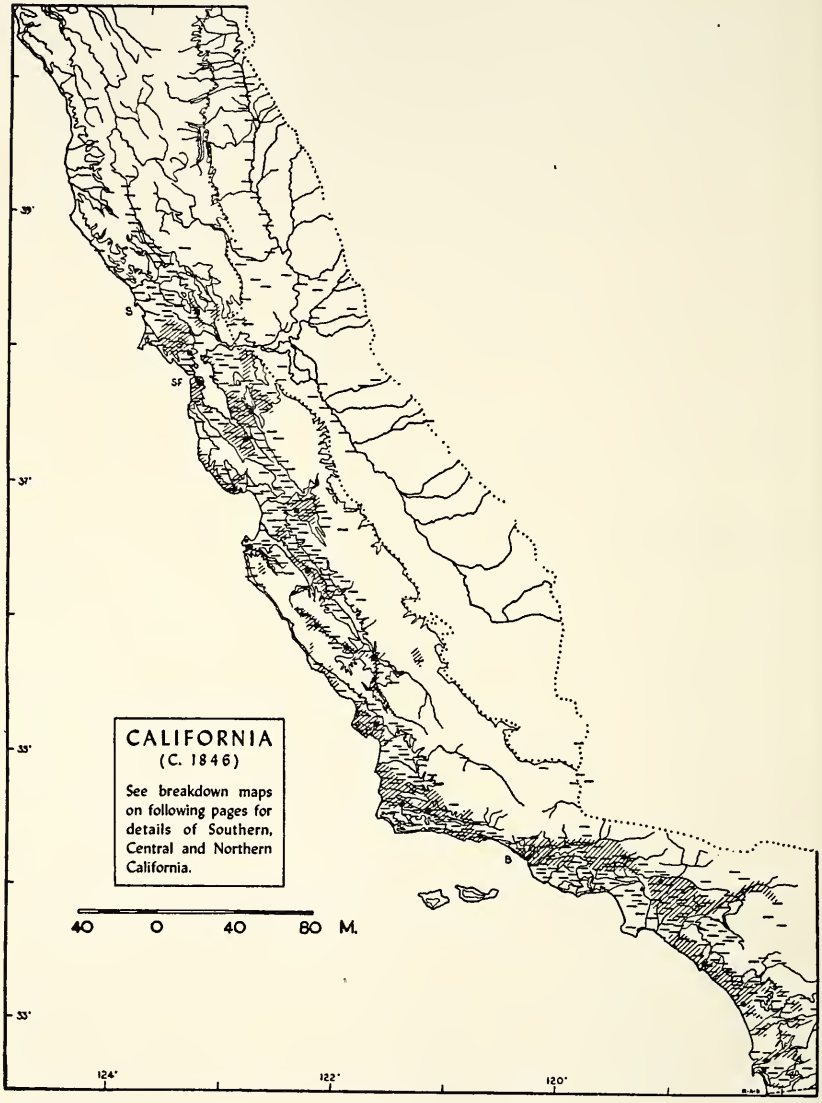
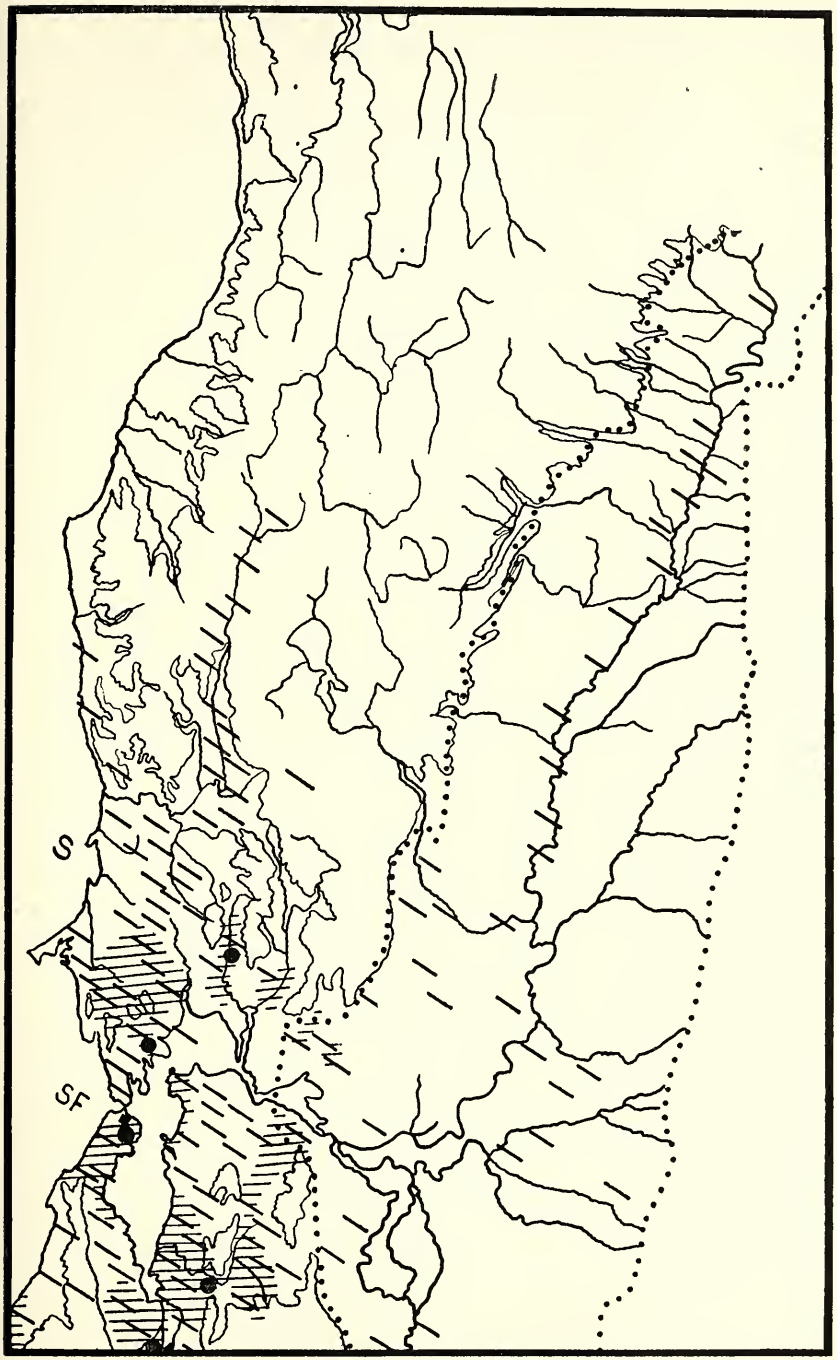
2 Some contemporary writers believed that the missions were originally restricted to 15 square miles or 9,600 acres; see H. I. Priestley, ed., of Alexander Forbes, *California (1835),* San Francisco, 1953, 132; T. J. Farnham, *Travels in California, 1841–1842,* San Francisco, 1947; F. W. Beechey, *An account of a Visit to California, 1826–1827,* 1941, 13, (a reprint from his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific,* London, 1931). This restriction is, however, doubtful; certainly such an understanding, if it existed, was nowhere looked upon as binding by the friars. The viceroy in a letter to the King, dated December 27, 1793, commented: "... it does not appear that any formality has been observed for the designation of limits or boundaries of each mission...."; see W. G. Jones, *Report on Land Titles in California,* Washington, 1850, 57.

3 H.H. Bancroft, *History of California,* San Francisco, 1884, I, 664, names five, and M. M. Livingston, "The Earliest Spanish Land Grants in California," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Southern California,* IX (1912–1914), 199, adds three more. Only fourteen grants (specifically excluding re-grants) were made during the Spanish regime.

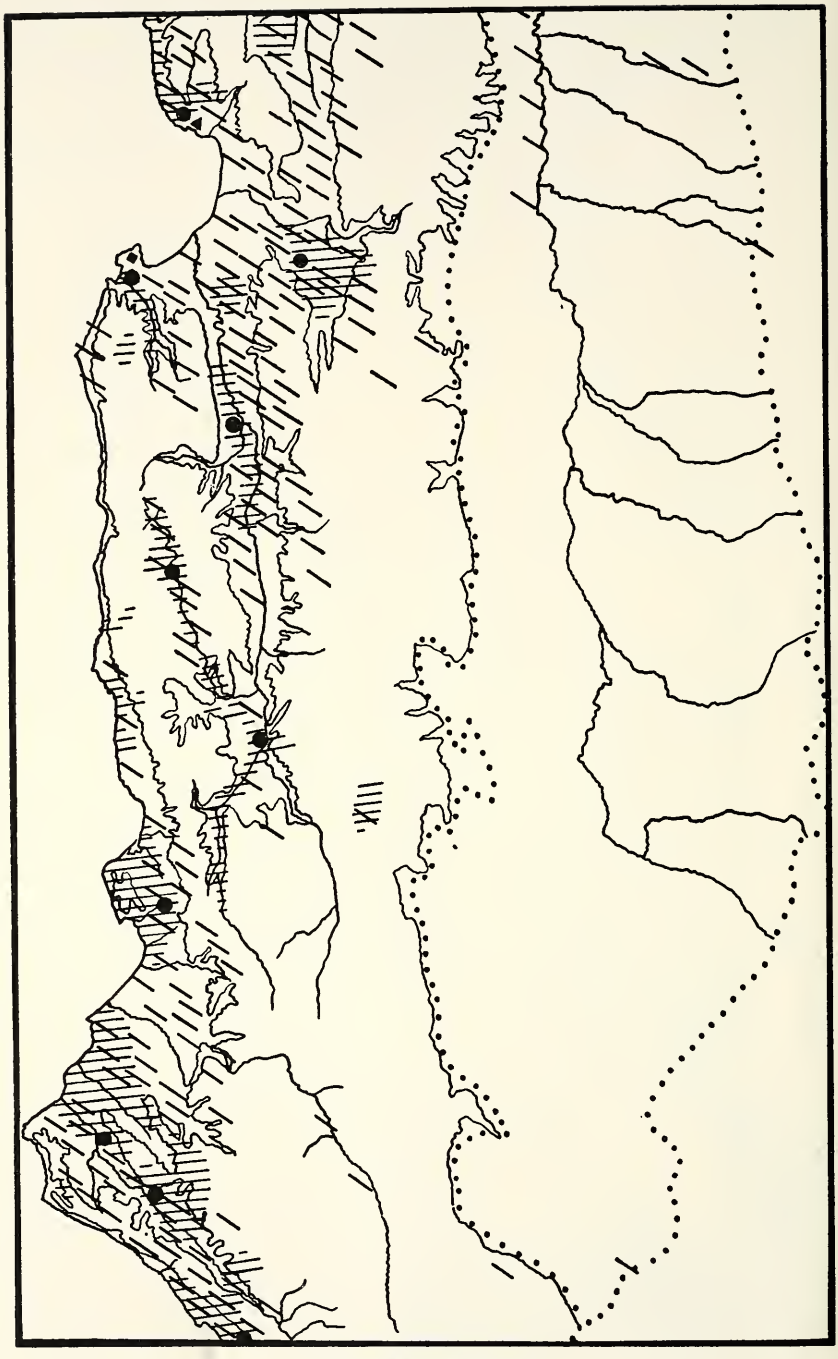
success c. 1822, were firm in their opposition. Spain in its final years scarcely had the power to press on this remote province of Alta California a policy of colonization aimed at close settlement.



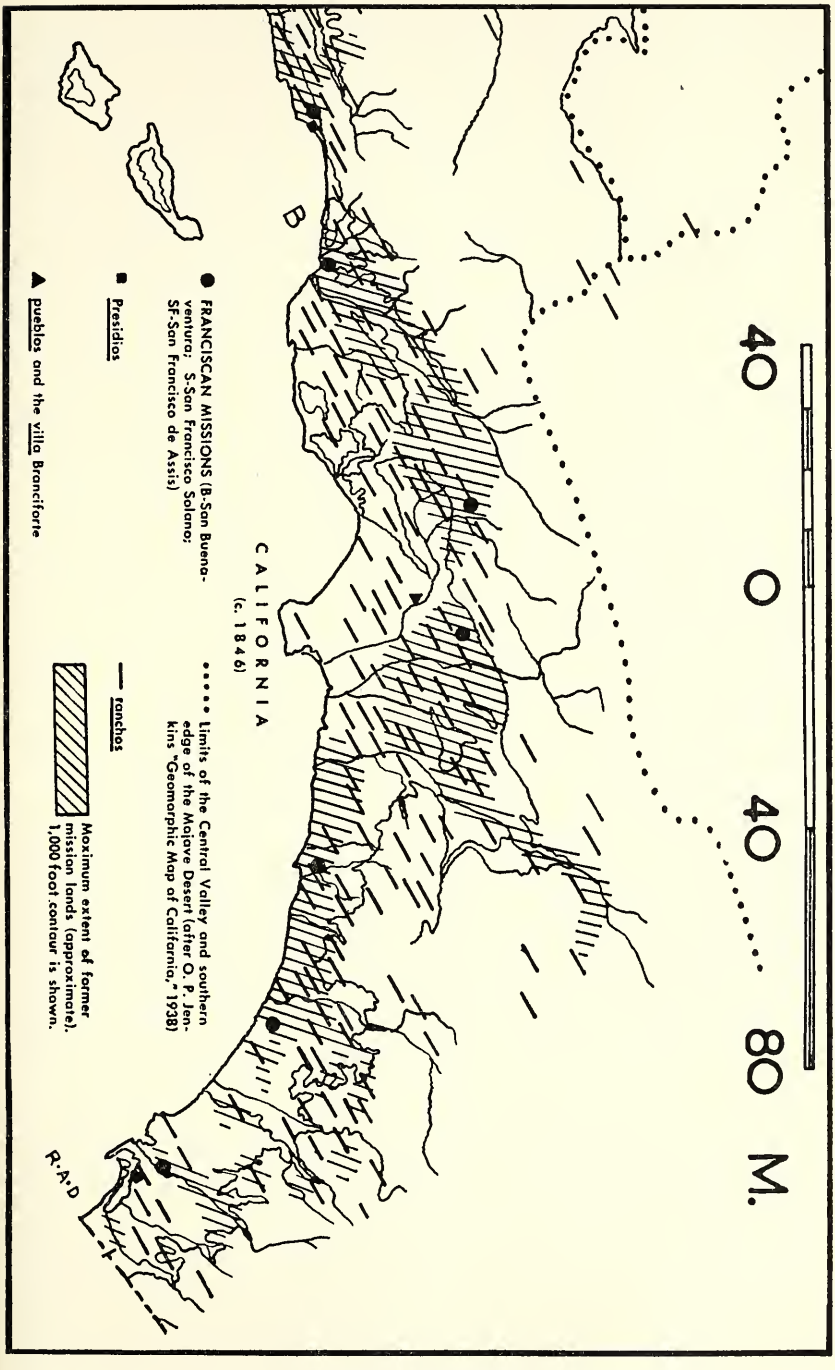
The new, independent Mexican Congress however acted speedily. On August 18, 1824, it passed the Colonization Law under which eleven square leagues—about 48,000 acres, with fixed proportions



Northern California



Central California


40 0 40 80 M.
CALIFORNIA
(c. 1846)
FRANCISCAN MISSIONS (B-San Buenaventura; S-San Francisco Solano; SF-San Francisco de Assis)
Presidios
pueblos and the villa Branciforte
ranchos
Limits of the Central Valley and southern edge of the Mojave Desert (after O. P. Jenkins "Geomorphic Map of California," 1938)
Maximum extent of former mission lands (approximate). 1,000 foot contour is shown.
B
R.A.D

Southern California

of irrigable, non-irrigable and pasture land—could be granted to one man. Foreigners, provided they became Mexican citizens, were not debarred. The law, however, was not known in California until 1829, and the first reference to it in a petition occurs in 1830. Even then the effect was negligible, and the authority of the missions over the most desirable tracts of land was undoubtedly one of the root causes. The stages towards secularization and its ultimate justification are not our present concern; it is enough to say that it was finally realised in a series of laws and decrees promulgated in 1833–1834. A flood of applications and grants followed. Altogether there were only twenty-seven separate awards before 1830, but in 1833 forty were registered, in 1834 thirty-seven, and in 1835 fifty-one.[4] By March 1856, the United States Commission set up to investigate titles to land issued before January, 1848, had agreed to confirm just over 520 of the 809 private claims presented,[5] from a fraction of an acre to over 100,000 acres. It has been calculated that by about 1840 the area of private grants roughly equalled that of the mission estates at their height, but the latter only amounted to one-third of the total *rancho* land ultimately patented.[6] Until 1833–1834 private holdings lay largely along natural or semi-natural routes, within or around the outer zones of mission influence, but subsequently the core areas were steadily eaten away.

A clause in the Regulations (1828) supplementing the Law of 1824 stipulated that a *diseño* had to accompany each claim. A few *diseños* go back to 1830, but the great majority belong to the post-secularization period. The primary object in examining them was to assess their relevance to a study of the extent and management of the former mission estates. One hundred and ninety-one *expedientes* and one hundred and forty-eight *diseños* proved of direct interest, and all the remaining *diseños* were scanned. Some *ranchos* are illustrated by more than one *diseño* and others now by none

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[4] Dr. R. N. Bowman—formerly archivist, State of California,—in writing. T. E. Aker, "Mexican Ranchos in the Vicinity of San José," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1931, 7.

[5] O. Hoffman, *Report of Land Cases determined in the United States District Court*, San Francisco, 1862; J. S. Black, *Report of the Attorney General on California Land Claims*, Washington, 1860; I. B. Ross, "The Confirmation of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 62; *Surveyor General of California: Report for 1884–1886*, San Francisco. 854 claims appeared before the Land Commission and other bodies.

[6] J. N. Bowman, "The Area of Mission Lands," unpublished typescript, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1947, 6, 34.

at all. To recognise certain evidence of earlier conditions in these drawings is, in fact, very difficult, and for the mission period proper they represent only a minor source of data. Yet for the years 1833 to 1846 they are of considerable value in reconstructing physical conditions and certain settlement details.

The origin of the events which led to the drawing of many *diseños* cannot now be traced. In some and perhaps most cases the *ranchero* was a squatter—occasionally with the permission of the adjacent mission—some time before he made the first move to consolidate his position. This was to petition the *jefe político,* usually the Governor, giving personal details and information in respect of the land, including a *diseño.* Some of these were apparently drawn from a fixed position in the area concerned, either to one side or roughly in the centre, but the more satisfactory variety were probably sketched as the *ranchero* walked or rode the length of the estate. He normally claimed of course that the land was unoccupied. The Governor referred the petition through his Secretary of State to the local authorities, the *prefecto,* or perhaps to the head of the mission most closely involved. The reply *(informe)* seems to have been carefully considered until perhaps the last years of Mexican rule, and on this basis a letter of approval *(concedo)* or disapproval was issued. The successful applicant was then under some obligation to organize a rough survey, after which, when the bounds had been indicated with cairns and such like, he was put in formal possession by the local magistrate *(alcade).* Before 1833 the *presidio comandante* was responsible. This formal stage was marked by actions proving ownership, such as the breaking of branches and the clearing of brushwood. Months often elapsed before the *título* was in the hands of the grantee. If, a year or two hence, a new claimant came forward, the initial 'owner' would find his position undermined had he failed to effect some improvements, such as building a house and plowing a field or two.

Under Spain there was a Royal Engineer, but he was only employed for special tasks, and there were no regular surveys until the United States team began its work in 1857.[7] The rough survey

[7] Subsequently a series of maps were issued showing the distribution of finally surveyed grants. The most recent and best is: *The State of California,* United States Department of Interior, 1944, (12 miles to 1 inch). J. J. Vioget made the first modern land survey in California in 1840–1841, when he drew the *diseño* of New Helvetia, but this was an isolated instance.

already mentioned probably involved the use of a lariat or rope *(lazo, cordel)* held between men on horseback who succeeded each other in turn.[8] Having ridden the bounds the area was approximately assessed.

The *diseños* form part of the land grant papers, from the original petition to the final consent. Unlike many other state documents they survived the San Francisco fire of 1906 and since 1937 have been held by the National Archives, Washington. Between 1866 and 1871 copies were made and filed in the California State Archives, Sacramento.

Although the 1840's witnessed an unprecedented scramble for grants, with much mission work being undone in the process, the *diseño*-petition is one indication of the underlying orderliness, strained by limited resources, of the Spanish and Mexican administration of California and particularly its efforts at colonization. The *expedientes* show that some requests for land were rejected even at a very late date as a result of a plea by a greatly weakened mission struggling to maintain its remaining Indian community.

With a few exceptions the *diseños* measure about 8″ x 11″, but scales (linear, usually a league subdivided into 1,000 and 100 *vara* units, but occasionally in *millas)* differ appreciably; an average value would be about 1.5 inches to one mile (1 : 42,240). A few compasses were in use and magnetic north is often shown, but the standard of accuracy is no greater than in the rest of the drawing, and in one instance there is an error of 180°. The *diseño* of Huichica (Figure 2) shows both true and magnetic north. There is no standard spelling, and to find one dated is most unusual. In many cases an applicant simply presented a drawing of a piece of territory and requested a certain number of leagues within it; consequently no boundaries are shown. When, however, permission was sought to occupy a particular tract a *linea de limite* is usually indicated, or we find the name of a neighboring property along the line of an obvious physical divide, such as a mountain ridge or an *arroyo* bed (Figure 2). In this way formerly isolated *ranchos* and above

[8] L. R. Blomquist, "A Regional Study of Changes in the Life and Institutions of the San Luis Obispo District, 1830–1850," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1943, 19, gives the length of the *cordel* as 25 *varas*, about 68.75 feet. Ross, "The Confirmation of Spanish and Mexican land Grants," estimates the *cordel* as 50 *varas*, and E. L. Williams, *Documents in the Santa Cruz Archives, 1876–1877*, 39, as 100 *varas*. It was not in fact necessary that the *cordel* should be standardized. The *vara* was approximately 33 inches, and one *legua* was 5,000 *varas*.

all the mission estates acquired more or less fixed limits in certain directions.*

The *diseños* are merely the field sketches of applicants using at the most a compass. The similarity in the treatment of topography, vegetation, and cultural detail may be ascribed to: (a) the basically untutored approach, (b) imitation, and (c) former experience during which plans of fortifications and earthworks were probably seen. Moreover, they all record the observations of men who viewed the countryside primarily as settlers.

The most common method of showing topography was simply to indicate the outline of the hills with no attempt at shading. The 'surveyor' viewed the territory piecemeal, and the ranges appear to fall away from the centre or valley axis. Hachures were also extensively used (Figure 2), sometimes quite skillfully. A grey wash, swept into the form of hills, roughly circular or eliptical in plan, and sometimes supported by hachures or trend lines, was employed in most of the remainder. A suggestion of layered contours is perhaps discernable in a few instances of an extensive wash surrounded by a line drawn broadly in harmony with the drainage pattern: in Figure 3 we see an attempt to indicate the two major levels *(lomaria, sierra)* above the valley floor.

The majority are without a legend, relying entirely on realistic drawings—trees, houses, even a horse grazing in one instance—written description, and the use of colour. Occasionally, however, numbers, letters, or symbols are used and explained in a table. Except that roofs are invariably red, the application of color was not conventionalized.

Neither in respect of physical nor cultural detail can the *diseños* be claimed as complete or even balanced. They highlight phe-

* Note to Figures 2 and 3. These are printed with the permission and the courtesy of the California State Archives, Sacramento, California.

Figure 2, Huichica, ("Map, Expediente No. 430–1," *Maps*, Vol. 2, Spanish Archives), is southeast of San Francisco Solano. Note (a) the typical grouping—*casa, corral*, and, in this case, two or more cultivation patches: (b) the road boundary to the north, the arroyo to the east, with another *rancho* beyond, and the artificial *linea de limite* to the southwest, with the *tierra del pueblo de Sonoma* beyond: (c) the *embarcadero* at the mouth of Sonoma creek.

Figure 3, Sespe, ("Map, Expediente No. 100," *Maps*, Vol. 1, Spanish Archives), is in Ventura County between the territory belonging to missions San Buenaventura and San Fernando. In the *expediente* we are told that irrigation was unnecessary locally since the low ground was generally moist, tending to marsh in places; but note *labor de regadio* (irrigation works) on the *diseño*. There were stands of willow and live oak. The land was occupied by a *ranchero* from at least 1828–1829 with the permission of mission San Buenaventura; stock grazed and a vineyard was planted. It was finally granted in 1833 to Carlos Antonio Carrillo.

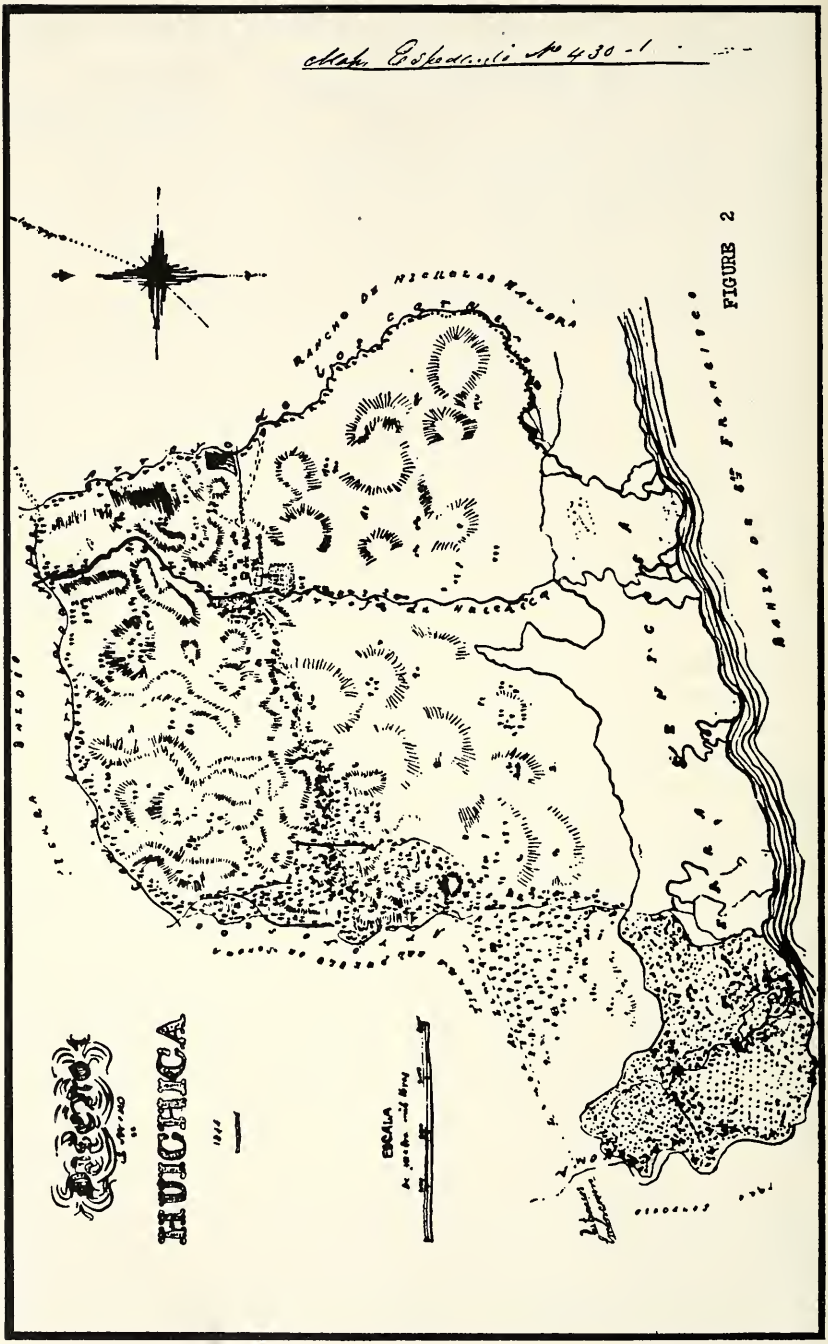
Mapa Esquemático Nº 430-1
RANCHO DE NICOLAS MALDONADO
BAHIA DE SAN FRANCISCO
HUICHICA
ESCALA

FIGURE 2

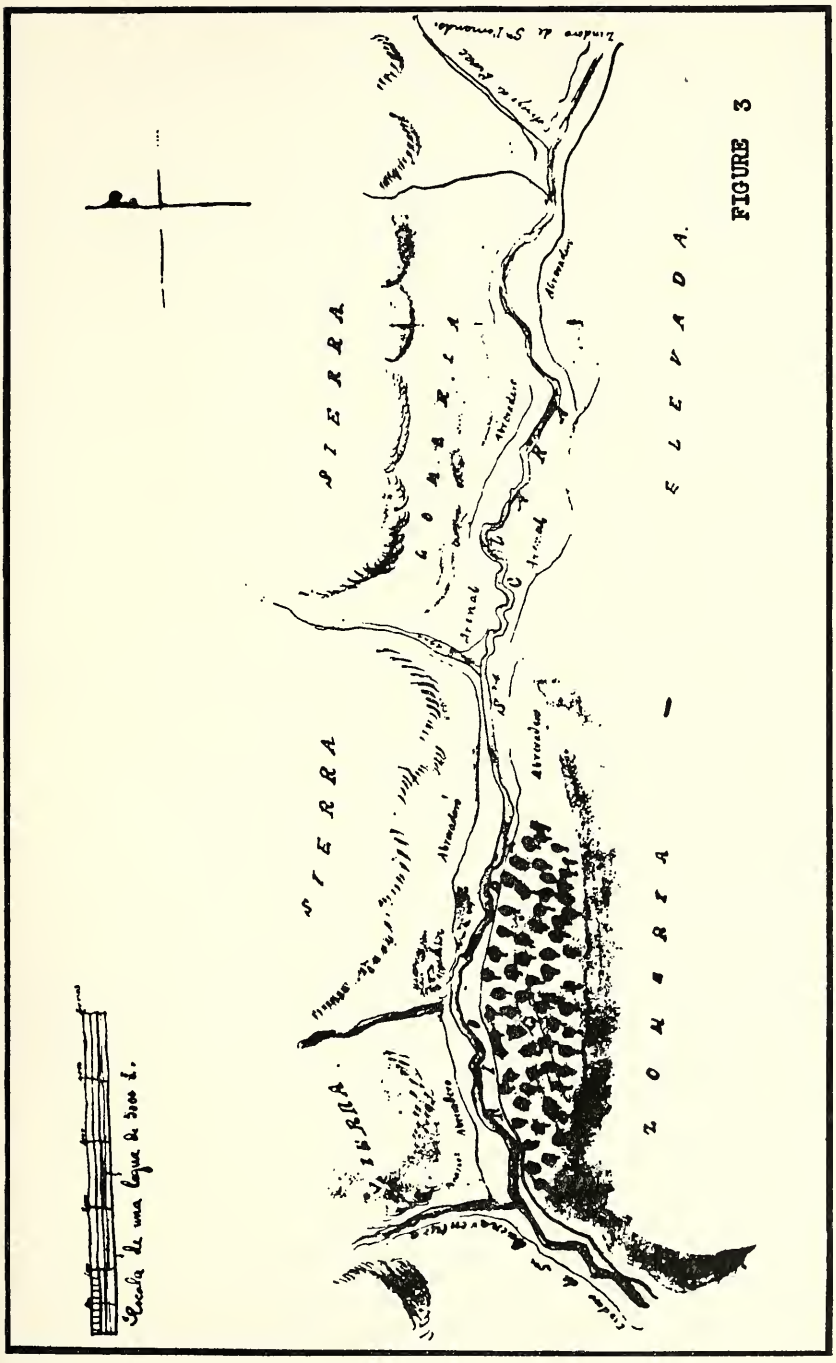
SIERRA
SIERRA
SIERRA
ELEVADA.
ZONA
ARENA
Escala de una legua de 3000 t.

FIGURE 3

nomena of contemporary significance and supply scattered but more or less precise topographic information for the period 1830–1846. Many are early examples of elementary soil and land utilization maps.

The physical detail is somewhat less varied than the cultural. Woodland is normally indicated by tree patterns with, in some cases, two or more unit forms in addition to the standard coniferous type. Thickly wooded *arroyos* below bare or chaparral-covered hillsides are commonly shown. Clumps of alder or willow along stream banks may be named, and marshland is either symbolized or labelled *(tulares, cienega)*. Belts of trees served to shelter stock, and timber was essential for house frames, fuel and corrals. Land which was subject to flooding could generally be used for grazing during the summer months, and chaparral limited the area of open pasture. In the following collection of words used to describe physical conditions,[9] the reader will notice the emphasis upon woodland types, and particularly the concern with water supply. In Figure 3 sandy patches *(arenal)*—tributary fans—and rocky bluffs *(penascos)* are named:[10]

chamiso, –al—*chamise* (Indian), but here covering all types of chaparral, a dwarf evergreen oak formation (Spanish *chaparro,* scrub oak). The chief species is *adenostoma fascicultum;*

roble, –a—valley (deciduous) oak *(quercus lobata);*

encina, –al—live (evergreen) oak *(quercus agrifolia);*

potrero, pasto, pastora, –ura—pasture;

sausal, –alito—willow (Spanish *sauce);*

vega,—flat, damp land;

cienaga, –ega, –aguta—marsh, mire.

Others occur less frequently: *álamo* (poplar, cottonwood), *pino* (pine), *aliso* (alder), *nogal* (black walnut), *poza –ita* (pool, water hole), *tular* (tulle or marsh), *salina* (salt flat), *brea* (pitch), *arroyo seco* (dry stream bed), *laguna* (lake), *sierra árida* (dry, barren mountains), *tierra arenosa* (sandy ground), *abrevadero* (watering place for cattle), *aguaje* (watering place, spring).[11]

There are four possible explanations of the settlement features

[9] Each noted more than ten times in the *diseños* preserved at Sacramento.

[10] Topographical terms include: *mesa* (plateau), *playa* (beach or strand), *loma* (hill), *cerrito* (hillock), *llano* (open plain). An important route through the hills may be labelled *salida* (exit).

[11] Many of these words form part of the grant titles; others are *caliente* (hot), *hedionda* (bad), *puerca* (foul) as applied to *agua, atascadero* (miry place), *madera* (lumber), *islay* (Indian: a shrub).

such as houses, fields and mills, and in most cases it is not possible to decide between them: (a) they may depict the nucleus of a former mission estate, for isolated holdings were common; (b) they may indicate an Indian settlement, mission inspired or protected; (c) they may represent the efforts of a former *ranchero,* and finally, (d) they may point to squatter settlement, which is most likely. The adobe dwelling is sometimes shown graphically, particularly on the larger scale *diseños,* and sometimes by the label *casa.* The same is broadly true of the *corral.* One *diseño* shows the typical adobe side by side with a conical Indian-style dwelling; others label groups of cone-like symbols *ranchería* (Indian settlement). Cultivated areas are particularly interesting for in many cases they undoubtedly represent the beginnings of local agriculture. We find *huerta* (garden) applied to certain rectangular or roughly eliptical patches,[12] and also, but more rarely, *vina* (vineyard). The *casa, corral* and *huerta* commonly formed a piedmont group, while the remainder of the grant was used as open range. Occasionally one can only assume that a small regularly-hatched square represents cultivation. In the *diseño* of Santa Ysabel we find a piece of ground named *el trigo* (wheat). More than ten instances of *tierra de labor* and *tierra de siembra* (or variations thereof), worked or sown land, were found. Usually without bounds or hatching of any kind, these may in certain cases represent cultivable ground cleared and used by the missions.[13]

El camino real, the principal north-south highway, is sometimes shown as a landmark, emphasizing that, generally speaking, the *ranchero* effectively occupied rather than opened up new territory.

The *rancho* period, a mere fifteen years, lies between the extraordinary era of mission control and the hustling century which opened with the discovery of gold at Coloma in 1848. Historians have virtually ignored the evidence of the *diseños,* but this note has perhaps shown that they were drawn from a point of view of particular interest to the historical geographer.

R. A. Donkin

University of Edinburgh

[12] An *huerta* was not simply a vegetable garden, but might contain fruit trees, a vineyard, even a patch of maize. On the *diseño* of *Canada Larga o Verde* we find "*Huerta de S, Jose percenec*te ... *a S. Buenav*a, and "*Idm de Sta ... idem a ... Mision*" clearing indicating the property of mission San Buenaventura. *Huertas* are usually shown some distance from river banks, probably to be out of reach of flood water.

[13] A few grant names include words of interest here too: *puente* (bridge), *herrero* (blacksmith), *calera* (lime kiln or pit), *zanjón* (deep ditch or large drain).

Crime and Justice in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917

The Alabama Black Belt, for the most part, has been a peaceful section of the Deep South. The mild climate of the strip of rich, black soil, is conducive to contentment, even lethargy. Because the towns in the nine counties[1] of the region are small, people know each other well, and consequently a high social value is placed upon respectable, conventional behavior. Yet even the Black Belt has had its share of law breakers.

In ante-bellum times the area attracted planters who acquired the land in large tracts and who brought in slaves to work in the cotton fields. After the Civil War the former slaves and their progeny remained as farm tenants, their social positions little changed. The white people of the area considered themselves superior in culture to the white people of adjoining counties, who worked their own small farms as their fathers before them had done. While the Negroes made up a large majority of the population, white supremacy was unquestioned.

The period 1875–1917 was a time when the economy was based on cotton and farm tenancy. The turbulent days of Reconstruction were over, and Southern white men were in political control. It was a time before the boll weevil had threatened the cotton crop, before the exodus of Negroes to industrial cities, and before cattle raising began to replace cotton farming.

Throughout this period a large majority of the state and the county convicts in Alabama were Negroes.[2] In 1870 the white population of the state was 109.6 per cent of the Negro population. In 1877 white prisoners in the state penitentiary were only 12.1 per cent of the Negro. Only eight of the eighty-one white prisoners came from Black Belt counties.[3] In 1886 only forty or 10.4 per cent of the 383 county convicts were white, only one of these in the Black Belt. The white population of the state was 52.4 per

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1 These are Bullock, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Marengo, Montgomery, Perry, Sumter, and Wilcox.

2 *Montgomery Journal*, January 16, 1902; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 2, 1900, July 19, 1903; *Alabama Beacon*, September 13, 1873; *Hayneville Examiner*, October 4, 1882; *Marion Standard*, August 20, 1890, April 6, 1892; *Sumter County Sun*, April 5, May 24, 1900.

3 *Report of the Inspectors of the Alabama Penitentiary*, 1877, Montgomery, 1878, 55.

cent of the total. Of the 559 state convicts, eighty-seven, or 15.5 per cent were white.[4]

The white population of 1920 was 160.6 per cent of the Negro. The county jails of the state in 1918 confined 4,634 white and 11,822 Negro prisoners, the white being 39.2 per cent of the Negro. With the Black Belt white population of 1920 35.7 per cent of the Negro, there were 2,433 Negro and 257 white prisoners (10.5 per cent of the Negro) in the Black Belt county jails in 1918, 192 of the latter in Montgomery County.[5]

The mores of slavery lingered on, and the whites did not regard Negroes as full-fledged human beings. They were considered semi-barbaric creatures with the minds of children and morals little above the animals. Hence, a tolerant, non-committal attitude was usually taken toward Negro crime except when it involved white people:

> Selma, July 30—The usual Saturday night killing was reported on the streets this morning at an early hour. Saturday night a week ago the shooting scrapes were on the eastern outskirts of the city. Last night the one pulled off was on the western outskirts. As in the previous shootings, negroes were engaged, and, as is usually the case, the event happened at a church supper.[6]

From Livingston:

> Negroes got in a general fight on the Willingham place last Saturday night. One was knocked down and another one was stabbed. They kept up noise enough to have killed ten.[7]

Crime in the Black Belt, as measured by the number of prisoners in the state and the county prisons, was generally high, as compared with the state as a whole. In 1874 there were only 228 prisoners in the state penitentiary, seventy-seven of them or thirty-three per cent, from the Black Belt.[8] At that time the Black Belt had its normal share of convicts, since Black Belt population was thirty-three per cent of the state population.[9] Thereafter, the number of

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4 *Report of the Officers of the Convict System of Alabama, 1884–1886*, Montgomery, 1887, 186-222, *passim*, hereafter cited as *Report of the Convict System, 1886*.

5 *Report of the State Prison Inspector of Alabama, 1917–1918*, Montgomery, 1919, 17, 34–37, cited hereafter as *Report of the State Prison Inspector, 1918*.

6 *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 31, 1905.

7 *Our Southern Home*, March 8, 1905.

8 *Annual Report of the Inspectors of the Alabama Penitentiary, 1873–1874*, Montgomery, 1874, 21.

9 Population as of 1870. Computed from *Alabama Official and Statistical Register 1915*, Montgomery, 1915, 308–311, cited hereafter as *Alabama Statistical Register, 1915*.

prisoners in the section, as well as in the state, rose steadily. In 1886, when the Black Belt had twenty-seven per cent of the population of the state, forty per cent of the state convicts were from Black Belt counties, and forty-two per cent of the county prisoners in the state were Black Belt prisoners.[10] In 1898 a downward trend was evidenced, as the 327 state prisoners from the Black Belt were twenty-eight per cent of the total.[11] In 1904, with the Black Belt population twenty-one per cent of the state population, twenty-seven per cent of the state convicts and fifteen per cent of the county prisoners were from that section.[12]

The centers of crime tended to follow population increases. In 1877 Mobile and Montgomery Counties had the largest number of convicts, while in 1896 Jefferson County (Birmingham), which had just begun its phenomenal growth, had the most prisoners in the state penitentiary and continued to have to 1918.[13] As the ten city and mineral counties of north Alabama[14] increased in population, the number of prisoners also increased, proportionately even greater than the population. In 1886 the populations of these counties totaled 184,184, or twelve per cent of the state population, but only thirteen per cent of the state convicts and seventeen per cent of the county convicts were from these counties.[15] In 1904, however, the population of the city and mineral counties had more than doubled to a total of 380,640, or twenty-one per cent of the total for the state, and twenty-five per cent of state convicts and forty-two per cent of the county convicts were from the city counties. While their combined population did not equal that of the Black

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[10] Population as of 1880. Computed from *Alabama Statistical Register, 1915*, 308–311; *Report of the Convict System, 1886*, 225–227.

[11] State of Alabama, *Second Biennial Report of the Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1896–1898*, Montgomery, 1898, 34.

[12] Population as of 1900, computed from *Alabama Statistical Register, 1915*, 308–311; *Report of the Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1902–1904*, Montgomery, 1904, 46, 51.

[13] *Report of the Inspectors of the Alabama Penitentiary, 1877*, 34; *Report of Inspectors of Convicts, 1902–1904*, 46; *State Report of the Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1904–1906*, Montgomery, 1906, 36; *Report of the State Prison Inspector, 1918*, 38.

[14] These are Calhoun (Anniston), Colbert (Tuscumbia and Sheffield), Etowah (Gadsden), Jefferson (Birmingham), Lauderdale (Florence), Linestone (Athens), Madison (Huntsville), Morgan (Decatur), Walker (Jasper), and Winston (Double Springs). These counties were selected for comparative purposes because they contained sizeable towns or were subject to the industrializing influences of the piedmont or mineral regions. Jefferson, Walker, and Winston are classed as mineral counties.

[15] Population as of 1880, computed from *Alabama Statistical Register, 1915*, 308–311; *Report of the Convict System, 1886*, 225, 227.

Belt, which had a total of 387,931, yet more criminals were being apprehended in the developing sections.[16] By 1918 the trend was clear—the Black Belt had 2,690 county prisoners, or sixteen per cent of the total, and the city counties had 6,493, or thirty-nine per cent of the total.[17]

Some indication of the type of crimes committed by both whites and Negroes can be had from the state attorney general's reports. For the counties of the Fourth Judicial Circuit—Bibb,[18] Dallas, Hale, Perry, and Wilcox—the most frequent crimes for 1906–1908 were, in order of the number of convictions, assault and battery with weapon, violating the prohibition law, carrying concealed weapons, assault and battery, petit larceny, first degree manslaughter, grand larceny, assault with intent to murder, burglary, and first degree murder.[19]

The unhealthy condition of the county jails was a scandal which provoked much criticism throughout the period, yet for many years little was done to alleviate the situation. An act of December 6, 1880, provided that the sheriffs of the several counties furnish suitable methods for heating the county jails and adequate sanitary facilities. The jails should be inspected weekly by the probate judges and clerks of the circuit courts, and the court of county commissioners should supply funds for carrying out these provisions.[20]

After the passage of this law, the county jails on the whole seemed to meet with the approval of the grand juries and the county health officers that inspected them. The jails of Sumter, Lowndes, Bullock, and Dallas Counties were adversely reported at certain times, but steps were usually taken to improve such situations.[21]

When, however, the Board of Inspectors of Convicts began in

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16 Population in 1900, computed from *Alabama Statistical Register, 1915*, 208–311; *Report of Inspectors of Convicts, 1902–1904*, 46–51.

17 *Report of the State Prison Inspector, 1918*, 38–41.

18 Not in the Black Belt.

19 *Biennial Report of the Attorney General, 1906–1908*, Montgomery, 1908, 74.

20 *The Code of Alabama, 1897*, I, Sections 1411–1415, pp. 472–473, Sections 33, 65, subdivision 15, p. 952; Eutaw *Whig and Observer*, December 16, 1880.

21 *Report on the Board of Health of the State of Alabama, 1883–1884* Montgomery, 1884, 182; *ibid., 1895*, Montgomery, 1895, 63; *ibid., 1888*, Montgomery, 1888, 105; Sumter County, Alabama, Minute Book, Circuit Court, vol. R, 505, August 26, 1884, vol. S, 87, August, 1886, 126, May 5, 1887, 176, Fall, 1887; Lowndes County, Alabama, Claims and Minutes, Board of Revenue Court, vol. B, 57, April 10, 1893; Bullock County, Alabama, Minutes Commissioners' Court, vol. 3, 493.

1902 to make systematic inspections of jails, far less satisfactory pictures emerged. The state inspectors must have judged by higher standards than those of the county officials, for in that year, the report was extremely bad:

> The condition of many of the jails in Alabama beggars description; prisoners are herded in them like sheep, with no ventilation, no sanitation, no bathing facilities, and no change of clothing (although they may be confined for months), reeking with filth and vermin; this with food of the roughest and poorest character not only invites but produces disease. This is a mild picture of existing conditions in many of the jails of the State. Those suffering from constitutional and contagious diseases are placed in the same room and cells with the healthy, and I have known strong and able-bodied prisoners placed in jail come out both physical and mental wrecks. In fact, it is a common occurrence to receive a prisoner in the penitentiary who literally brings his death certificate from the jail, and it is further known that prisoners have had executive clemency extended to them because death would have claimed them before they could reach the penitentiary. These conditions are not altogether due to the sheriffs or keepers of the jails, but to an utter disregard in construction, of sanitation, and cleanliness of every kind. . . .[22]

The state inspector found the county jails in a deplorable state in 1909. Prisoners were crowded into small, dark, damp cells. The state allotment for feeding prisoners of from thirty to forty cents a day each was misappropriated by many jailers, who fed the prisoners the poorest of food in order to gain a profit for themselves. Food usually consisted of a piece of meat and a "hunk of plain bread with peas."[23]

Improvement in county jails came only after a prison reform bill was enacted by the legislature in 1911, providing for a state prison inspector and assistants with authority to *require* proper management and sanitation in all jails in the state. They were given the power to order the local governing body to repair the jail building or even to erect a new one.[24] Consequently, by 1916 the jails were greatly improved. All of them were cleaner, and most of them were meeting state standards of sanitation. New jails had been erected in Hale, Lowndes, Marengo, Montgomery, and

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[22] *Report of the Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1902*, Montgomery, 1902, 32–33.

[23] *First Annual Report of the Department for the Inspection of Jails and Alms-Houses, 1909*, Montgomery, 1910, 21–23, cited hereafter as *Report for Jails and Alms-Houses, 1909*.

[24] *Acts of Alabama, 1911*, Montgomery, 1912, 356.

Sumter Counties, and the Wilcox and Greene County jails had been remodeled. Similar building and remodeling of jails took place throughout the state, so that by 1918 only twenty-four of the jails of the state were condemned. Three of these were in the Black Belt counties of Bullock, Dallas, and Perry.[25]

The practice of leasing convicts to private companies and individuals was begun in 1866 as an effort to spare the poverty-stricken state the expense of supporting convicts.[26] The counties also followed the system, placing their convicts on the auction block for leasing to the highest bidder. Usually the convicts were leased in large groups for work in coal mines, railroads, or on plantations. Contracts ranged from $4.50 to $24 per month for each convict.[27]

When the system originated, it was expected that it would yield to the counties only enough to pay for the support of the convicts. Also, it was supposed that only persons convicted of minor offenses would be sentenced to this punishment and that it would be a milder form than a penitentiary sentence, which would be reserved for the more serious crimes.[28] Convict leasing, however, degenerated into a money raising device for the counties and cruel exploitation of the prisoners. The penitentiary inspectors' report for 1880-1882 is revealing of conditions in those prisons:

> I found the prisons where convicts were confined in most instances totally unfit for the purpose for which they were intended. They were built, in most cases, with a view to the strictest economy. No regard was had to the important question of ventilation, and the prison frequently contained twice as many convicts as its dimensions would warrant. They were as filthy, as a rule, as dirt could make them, and both prisons and prisoners were infested with vermin. The bedding was totally unfit for use. I found that convicts were excessively, and in some instances, cruelly punished; that they were poorly clothed and fed; that the sick were neglected, inasmuch as no hospitals had been provided, they being confined in the cells with the well convicts. The use of dining room furniture, at some prisons, was unknown, the men having their meals spread on a bench, or shelf, or given them by the cook in their hands. The prisons have no adequate

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[25] *Report of the State Prison Inspector of Alabama, 1915–1916*, Montgomery, 1917, 190–228; *Report of the State Prison Inspector, 1918*, 11–13.

[26] Saffold Berney, *Hand-Book of Alabama*, (n.p. 1878), 257; *Annual Report of the Inspectors of the Alabama Penitentiary, 1873–1874*, 4–5.

[27] Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, Chicago, 1921, I, 387–389; Perry County, Alabama, Minutes of the Commissioners' Court, vol. B, December 15, 1883, 469, vol. C, December 11, 1885, 105; Eutaw *Whig and Observer*, December 9, 1880.

[28] *Report of the Convict System, 1886*, 23 ff; *Hayneville Examiner*, May 8, 1882.

water supply, and I verily believe there were men in them who had not washed their faces in twelve months.

In visiting the different prisons, I found the men so much intimidated that it was next to impossible to get from them anything touching their treatment. In this condition I found things on my first visit to the prisons. I realized the difficulty at once of bringing up the standard to where it would pass muster, where the contractor or his hired agents were the instruments through whom I had to operate.[29]

For many years there was no control by the counties over the contractors or the prisoners, so that the treatment of the laborers depended upon the disposition of the employer. In 1881 when a committee of the Alabama legislature made an investigation into the condition of the county convicts, they condemned the system, but the legislature responded in 1883 only by requiring regular inspection of the convicts. The inspectors found much ill treatment and neglect of the prisoners, but they had no power to act beyond making reports.[30]

One particular injustice was the practice of making sentences at hard labor to cover court costs. No limit was set upon the amount at which a convict's labor was to be estimated. Frequently it was rated so low that the imprisonment for costs was much greater than for the crime. In the case of Abe McDowell of Wilcox County, the sentence for stealing a pig valued at one dollar was two years, and for the costs three years, nine months, and eleven days. James Jackson of Greene County was sentenced to seventy days at hard labor for misdemeanors, and for the court costs four years, two months, and twenty days.[31] Until 1883 the counties kept no record of the convicts that were leased.[32]

Conditions among the state prisoners leased out to hard labor were greatly improved after 1883, when the state legislature passed a prison reform bill giving authority to the state inspectors to enforce sanitation and humane treatment in the prisons and the prison camps. The state appointed a warden for each camp and assumed the responsibility of furnishing food, clothing, bedding, and medical attendance.[33] By 1890 Dr. Jerome Cochran, State Health Officer,

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[29] *Biennial Report of the Inspectors of the Alabama Penitentiary, 1880–1882*, Montgomery, 1882, 13, 14.

[30] *First Biennial Report of the Inspectors of Convicts, 1886*, Montgomery, 1886, 23 ff.

[31] *Report of the Inspectors of Convicts, 1890*, Montgomery, 1890, 3, 4.

[32] *Report of the Convict System, 1886*, 24.

[33] *Ibid.*, 3–12.

was able to report marked improvement in the treatment of state convicts "so great as to be revolutionary."[34]

The prison reforms, however, did not relieve the appalling conditions in the county work camps. The state prison inspectors would only report their findings to the county probate judges, and few county officials were willing to interfere with the system.[35] By 1896 conditions were no better, and the work required of the prisoners was even more arduous, since all of them, regardless of their physical ability, were hired to mining contractors.[36] The system became a death trap operated by the counties for the purpose of securing revenue, and it was scathingly censored by the prison inspectors.[37] Reform measures which did affect the county prison camps came in 1913, when rules were adopted by the State Board of Inspectors of Convicts limiting the length of county hard labor sentences and requiring that work be assigned according to the physical strength of the convict.[38]

The notorious convict lease system was finally terminated June 30, 1928, and provision was made for working state convicts at the various prisons, under considerably improved conditions. They might henceforth be used on the state highways under state supervision. The county convicts might be leased no longer.[39]

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[34] Jerome Cochran, "Inspection of the Convict Prisons at Pratt Mines and at the Walls," in the State of Alabama, *Report of Inspectors of Convicts, 1890*, 235–237.

[35] *Report of the Convict System, 1886*, 25.

[36] *First Biennial Report of the Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1894–1896*, Montgomery, 1896, 10, 11.

[37] *Report of Inspectors of Convicts, 1902–1904*, 15; *Report of Inspectors of Convicts, 1906*, 7.

[38] *Rules and Regulations for the Government of County and Municipal Convicts of Alabama, adopted June 24th, 1913*, Montgomery, 1913, *passim*.

[39] Acts of 1927, 51, cited in *Alabama Code 1940*, Atlanta, Georgia, 1941, Title 45, Sections 91–93.

Book Reviews

The French in North America, a Bibliographical Guide to French Archives, Reproductions and Research Missions. By Henry Putney Beers. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, La. Pp. xi–413. $12.50.

It is a platitude to say that the light of Henry Putney Beers has fallen across the pages of most United States history writing which has been done since he published *Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research.* Since then, this standard reference work has won him the gratitude of librarians, innumerable graduate students, and all mature authors in this field. *The French in North America* is sure to win him additional thanks and should affect a wider segment of the intelligent reading public than the older book. That was a technical tool which appealed to those who knew how to use it. This has features which should interest the less professional historian.

In his preface, Mr. Beers explains, "in this volume is presented a history of the activities of American and Canadian institutions, historians, and others connected with the procurement of reproductions in the form of transcripts, photostats and microfilm from French archives and manuscript collections." This modest statement contains the kernel of the book, but a survey of the chapters alone can indicate the wealth of fascinating data brought together in tracing the actual projects which accomplished this purpose.

To begin with the writer introduces his readers to the possibilities which French manuscript depositories have for the study of American history. He points out phases of the colonial era which await further investigation. The periods of the Revolution, national expansion and the Civil War seem to have been less well exploited. Succinct summaries of the contents of specific official and private archives in France serve as directives to the types of manuscripts which they house and which deal with these fields.

Following chapters evaluate the methods used by Americans who have worked abroad. One is surprised to find that even up to the twentieth century, many of the students who went to all the trouble of reproducing archival material neglected to give accurate information about the location of these sources. Most of them did not hesitate to change, synopsize and modify the text without any indication that they had done so.

The book proceeds to explain what has become of the more considerable collections of reproductions which have been made in France. It is made clear that the omission of any reference to original manuscripts which may have been brought to our country is intentional. Transcripts, photostats and microfilms are made accessible more easily to research scholars. It is for their assistance that these chapters are included. One of them touches upon Canadian collections of the sort which may be helpful to workers in the history of the United States.

Finally there are some excellent "conclusions" which not only sum up the record of past accomplishment, but contain stimulating suggestions for future activity. The 270 pages of text are followed by a chronological list

of the French representatives in the United States from July, 1778, to February, 1811. A similar list of investigators who have turned to the French archives between 1828 and the present follows. The valuable analytical bibliography of seventy-one pages affords a reference to all the books mentioned in the text and footnotes. The generous index, sixty-three pages, makes accessible the wealth of information which the book contains.

The printing of the book, with its mass of detail and careful editing has been done with excellence by the Louisiana state University Press. Libraries, throughout the country, cannot afford to miss it at any price. It is hoped that they will buy up the first edition at once. Then, the Press must print a second edition in sufficient quantity and at a price which will enable all French American students to acquire their private copies.

R. N. HAMILTON

Marquette University.

Albert Gallatin. By Raymond Walters, Jr. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1957. Pp. viii, 461. $7.00.

It seems strange that there was no biography written of Albert Gallatin between the year 1879, when Henry Adams prepared one, and last year, when Raymond Walters, Jr., submitted the one under review. The writer of the article on Gallatin in the *Columbia Encyclopedia* gave as one reason for the dearth of biographical treatment the statement that "Gallatin's papers and writings have never been properly collated and edited." Dr. Walters, book review editor of the *Saturday Review,* informs us that he has been working on this biography in his spare time for the past ten years and has used depositories in Geneva, Switzerland, where Gallatin was born, as well as many archives in this country.

Dr. Walters has done his work well. Detailed but never tiresomely monotonous, you will perhaps consider this to be biography at its best. An admirer of Gallatin's, Dr. Walters is nevertheless willing to admit shortcomings in the person of the man who held the post of Secretary of the Treasury for over twelve years, a record no other man has equalled. But before becoming secretary in 1801, Gallatin had experienced much that prepared him well for the public offices he was to hold. Much light is thrown on his earlier years in Geneva and in this country. The reasons why Gallatin joined the Jeffersonians rather than the Hamiltonians are made clear. Gallatin was to become well known as a banker, so one might expect that Hamilton rather than Jefferson would have appealed to him. Actually, as Dr. Walters observes, Gallatin's concept of government "was a philosophy midway between the conceptions now known as Hamiltonianism and Jeffersonianism. With Jefferson he shared a faith in the dignity and rights of every man.... Like both Hamilton and Jefferson, he perceived the prosperity and national independence that the United States could achieve through the development of its industry, commerce and natural resources; like Hamilton, he was willing to interpret the Constitution freely to let the government encourage this.... (p. 262)."

The very prominent part played by Gallatin in arranging with Britain the treaty that ended the War of 1812 are given in detail because Gallatin's merits as a diplomat were very impressive. He was later to serve as our minister to France (1815–1823) and also to Great Britain (1826–1827). Interestingly enough, and as further evidence of the breadth of his interests, Albert Gallatin made very important contributions to the ethnology of the American Indians. He lived a full, rich life until his death in 1849 and thereby enriched the nation which he had adopted as his own and to which he never wavered in his loyalty. Based on a wealth of primary source material, it is evident that Dr. Walters also used a tremendous amount of valuable secondary material as he prepared this well documented biography of a great American citizen about whom too little has been included in our standard history textbooks.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

Master Roger Williams. By Ola Elizabeth Winslow. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1957. Pp. xi, 328. Illustrated. $6.00.

Perhaps no figure from the ranks of seventeenth century New England Puritan divines has been the object of such intensive scholarship as Roger Williams. Controversy has swirled around him and his contribution to the political and religious thought of America throughout most of the twentieth century. Until this decade he has been most frequently portrayed as the "irrepressible democrat" whose political thought foreshadowed that of the Founding Fathers, (V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought,* New York, 1927, I 62–75 and S. H. Brockunier, *The Irrepressible Democrat: Roger Williams,* New York, 1940). As the advocate of the complete separation of church and state and political egalitarianism he stood alone in a sea of intolerance formed by the Massachusetts' theocracy. Of recent years this interpretation has come under sharp attack, first from Mauro Calamandrei ("Neglected Aspects of Roger Williams' Thought." *Church History,* XXI (1952) 239–258) and more recently by Perry Miller (*Roger Williams,* Indianapolis, 1953) and Alan Simpson ("How Democratic Was Roger Williams," *William and Mary Quarterly,* XIII (1956) 53–67). In the light of this controversy a new biography, constructed again from the sources, was essential.

The present work does not openly engage in this debate nor attempt to show the merits or weaknesses of earlier interpretations. Instead, Miss Winslow carefully retraces the events of Williams' life showing the gradual development of his religious and political views as he faced each new crisis. Williams emerges as a man driven by the same Puritan convictions which moved his contemporaries in England and America. Yet, in spite of this religious orientation in his thinking, his theories are significant. They may not have foreshadowed those of the enlightenment nor have been as advanced as those of the Englsh Levellers (a group with which he never identified himself), but they were radically different from those of seventeenth century New England. Dr. Winslow has removed some glamour

from Williams as an original thinker and intrepid democrat but she has clearly shown that there is much more to the political and religious thought of this man than his most recent investigators have cared to admit.

The work, written in an easy style, is the result of painstaking research in this country and England, and the author has thought long and hard about her material. A "Bibliographical Statement" at the end of the volume provides the reader with a list of Williams's writings as well as the principal full-length biographies. If any criticism is made it will be directed against this portion of the book, which lacks a critical essay on some of the more recent biographies. Such an essay seems essential in the light of the controversy being waged in historical circles today. Yet, there seems to be little doubt that the accolade "definitive" will be bestowed on this work and that it will remain there for many years to come.

JOHN J. REARDON

Loyola University, Chicago.

Memphis During the Progressive Era. By William D. Miller. The American History Research Center, Madison, Wis., and Memphis State University Press, Memphis, Tenn., 1957. Pp. ix, 242. Illustrated. $4.50.

William D. Miller ends this study on a highly dramatic note, with a vivid description of the public burning of a Negro in Memphis on May 22, 1917. Two days later, citizens of Memphis were applauding a speaker who defined the great issue facing the people of the city as whether or not they would allow the German nation to set back civilization a hundred years. In this juxtaposition of events, Miller finds a clue to understanding the nature of the impact of the progressive movement on the city. "Memphis," he declares, "was still chasing devils in the easy way of the progressive movement, blind to the devils in its own heart." (p. 195)

During the years 1900–1917, Memphis experienced a thoroughgoing period of reform, which brought better water and sewage systems, better streets, better fire and police protection, a network of parks and playgrounds, reformed courts, and more efficient government. Yet, in dealing with deeper problems of social disorganization, which gave the city the highest homicide rate in the country and made it a center of drug addiction and general lawlessness, Memphis' progressives accomplished little.

This failure, Miller argues, was not the result of any lack of vigor or devotion to progressive principles. He asserts that the reforms achieved, especially under the mayoralty of Edward H. Crump, were as complete and as lasting as those effected by the better known urban progressives, "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo or Tom Johnson of Cleveland.

This may be true, but the assertion requires more evidence than Miller supplies. In his discussion of the relation of city government to public utilities, for example, he describes frequent attacks against street railways and electric companies without making clear what this controversy accomplished. Moreover, he seems to overemphasize the significance of the com-

mission form of government as an instrument of progressivism. Although he considers at length the fight for its establishment, he does not illustrate, to any extent, his view that its institution led to greater efficiency, less waste, and stricter law enforcement.

Nevertheless, one can agree with Miller's major point—that the reforms instituted by the Memphis progressives had little real impact. Miller finds the reason for this failure in the character of Memphis, a city whose fundamental nature, he believes, was determined by the impact of urban values on the rural mind. After a disastrous yellow-fever epidemic in 1878–1879, Memphis filled with settlers from the neighboring countryside. The Southern rural immigrant, with his perfervid religious outlooks and his ingrained rural conservatism, found it impossible to adjust to urban values. The resulting social disorganization tore the city with crime and violence. The remark of a Memphis lawyer that had Memphis existed alongside Sodom and Gomorrah, God would have had to destroy Memphis first, was an accurate reflection of contemporary opinion. For this kind of disruption, related to the whole social structure of a city, progressives with their moderate programs of governmental and social reform were unable to provide an answer.

Miller has been carefully aware of the need for relating the developments he describes to progressivism in general. Consequently, his work is valuable, for he modifies some of the easy generalizations about the character of this movement that historians of national and southern progressivism—in spite of the growing body of important local studies of its impact—are still too prone to make.

Miller's well-documented monograph is based primarily on newspapers, but he has used the source with discretion. Although he has included chapters on the economic and social development of Memphis, the work is not full-scale, urban history. It is, however, a generally sound, brief sketch of an important period in the city's history. His chapters on Memphis "At the Turn of the Century" and "On the Eve of the War" are excellent examples of how descriptive, social history can be combined with penetrating, historical analysis.

CHARLES N. GLAAB

University of Chicago

The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley 1776–1845. By Walter Brownlow Posey. University of Kentucky Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 166. $5.00.

This is the third in a series of monographs written by Walter Brownlow Posey, chairman of the history department of Agnes Scott College and professor of history at Emory University. The first two dealt with the early history of the Methodists and Presbyterians, respectively, in the Old Southwest. The present volume concentrates upon the early development of the Baptist Church in the area of its greatest influence.

The growth among Baptists was slow until the Revolutionary War. After

the conflict was over, however, they began to multiply. As a group they had ardently supported the American cause, and this had by no means hurt them. Moreover, when the westward movement began, the simple preaching and the democratic organization of the Baptists had a definite appeal to the men on the frontier. At first Baptists were reluctant to participate in the frontier camp meetings, because of their Calvinistic theology, but before long they followed the Presbyterians and Methodists into this type of appeal to the religious emotions of the people in the expanding west.

Divisions plagued the early Baptist Churches. There were missionary and anti-missionary groups, and only after a bitter struggle did the former finally triumph. Division came also because of the slavery question. In 1845 delegates from eight southern states withdrew from the national body and on May 8, 1845, formed the Southern Baptist Convention at Augusta, Georgia. The rift has not yet been healed.

Many frontier Baptist were opposed to education and a paid ministry. Consequently many of the first preachers were uneducated and even crude. The tide did not fully turn in favor of a well trained ministry until about 1850. Since then the colleges, universities and seminaries of the Southern Baptist Convention have outstripped even those of the Methodists and Presbyterians who were rivals of the Baptists on the frontier.

These early Baptists, and especially the so-called "Hard-shell" group, were not famous for their cooperation with other religious bodies. Their stress upon immersion, Calvinism and "close communion" (forbidding non-immersionists and privilege of Holy Communion) set them apart and kept them apart from even other Protestant Christians. Yet after 1800 they multiplied rapidly, became very missionary-minded, developed a highly centralized church polity and acquired considerable wealth and influence. Today there are more than eight million Baptists in the south alone. They give more than 353,000,000 dollars for the support of their churches, provide 53,000,000 dollars for missions, and hold property valued at 1,000,000,000 dollars.

Dr. Posey has presented a fair and accurate historical study of a body who made a significant contribution to the religious life of the erly South.

LEONARD GITTINGS

Berkeley, California

Thunder in the North. By R. E. Lamb, C.S.B., Ph.D. Pageant Press, New York. Pp. xviii, 354. $5.00.

In 1867 the British North American Act brought about the Federation of Quebec and Ontario, and a government responsible to the people. Very soon the Northwest, beyond Lake Superior, was organized and in time added to the Federation on a basis of equality. The union did not come without much serious struggle between the immensely varying interests of such groups as the Hudson's Bay Company and several colonial enterprises, among them the famous pioneers of the Red River below Lake Winnepeg.

These latter folk, made up of *Metis,* Scotch immigrants and frontiersmen of English blood, stood up stoutly for their rights under the inspiring guidance of Louis Riel (1844–1885). Twice, in 1869 and 1885, he challenged the authority of Ottawa, the second time unfortunately in a condition of mental aberration. For his effort he went to the gallows, a pitable victim to politics in the eastern provinces.

Yet Reil had a larger significance, and this is the story of the book. The battle for freedom on the fringe of civilization raised a tremendous storm between the competing powers of Ontario and Quebec. A deep chasm threatened to cleave the nascent nation. Profound feelings tied in with language, religion, blood, kept the issue in the balance for most of the year 1885. Finally in a mottled decision of state—the acceptance of hanging for Riel, and of the concomitant evidence of treason against the Crown—saw the lightning die away, the storm forgotten, and national union the sequel.

This tale has been told before, yet not with the depth of documentation and incisive study of the issues presented by Father Lamb. His narrative will assist investigators in the political maturation of our northern neighbors.

The book lacks an index and the maps needed for ease in following the movements in that broad landscape. A good list of primary materials and three appendices listing the legal findings for the execution complete the work.

W. Eugene Shiels

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Notes and Comments

Among the Philosophical Library publications of last year was *Pictorial History of Protestantism,* by Vergilius Ferm. The introduction is a devastating attack on any and all organized religious authority. To quote: "Protestantism means fundamentally, then, eternal vigilance against all the forces which encase the human spirit.... It means protesting not alone against Catholicism but a protesting against any form of Protestantism itself which usurps power over individual conscience and over the spirit of freedom in the realm of man's inner life.... There continued to be Protestants protesting against Protestants after the first guns were fired and its own history is full of tragic accounts of martyrs within its own household.... The Protestant spirit essentially is a battle-name against unwholesome infringements (be they of creeds, councils, books, catechisms, theology, ecclesiastical polity, confessions, heroes) against the onmoving forces of the spirit of life itself. The battle is never finished and we must be prepared for neo-Protestants of whatever kind in the days to come—if we are in this historic tradition or pretend to be."

This, of course, is radical, and if followed out logically by members of organized Protestant churches, would lead to complete individualism and to the destruction of Protestantism. Ferm forgets that Protestants generally are free to subscribe to the rules, canons, creeds of the particular church which they have willingly joined. They want leadership and want authority in religious matters, just as people want leadership and authority and organization so essential in human society. They want heroes, they want formalism, they want ecclesiastical polity. Otherwise they do not join a church. While all Protestant churches are striving to gain converts this book would tell the converts equivalently, "join our church and reform it," and would tell the members of the church to do away with creeds and officials! No wonder then, that as Ferm says: "Some officials have turned aside my request..." (for information from the files of their denomination), and that "Some officials have written me courteously that they are in no sense of the Protestant tradition...," and consequently did not want to be included in his pages.

Time after time Ferm's pages create the impression of regard for a church member who revolted from, or was ousted by the

authorities of his church, only to become more intolerant as leader in a new sect. Taken in their entirety, the pages will give Protestants an idea of the vast number of churches and individuals disagreeing upon religious beliefs. There are over four hundred good and poor illustrations of persons, places, and things pertaining to Protestantism over the years. These unify Protestantism according to Dr. Ferm's definition of dissent from orthodoxy, but they will in no wise tend to unify Protestant churches, except on one point—antipathy to Rome. Protestant leaders will hardly expect this type of treatise from a former president of the American Theological Society and professor in Wooster College. The list price is $10.00.

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In September of this year some people are planning to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of Oliver Cromwell, Protector of the British Commonwealth. As a prelude to this event we have a book, *The Greatness of Oliver Cromwell,* by Maurice Ashley, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1958, $5.). Mr. Ashley is Chairman of the Cromwell Association. In the present work he repents having written his earlier *Oliver Cromwell, The Conservative Dictator,* when he knew less about his subject and was profoundly influenced by the rise of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin," (p. 23, n. 7). Now, Mr. Ashley wants people to shed any bias regarding Cromwell and with open minds look at Oliver as Oliver looked at himself, or at least as Mr. Ashley thinks Oliver regarded himself, namely, "Cromwell did not think of himself as a dictator, even when he exerted, as he did now, the power of the sword. . . ," (p. 299). With this in mind, Mr. Ashley procedes with an elaborate apology for all the misdeeds of Cromwell, explaining away all previous criticisms, condemnations, and judgements of scholars. He arrives in the last few of his 369 pages at the naive conclusion that the true greatness of Cromwell lay in his defense of freedom of conscience. "What he fought to gain and toiled to defend above all else was freedom of conscience." (362) It is the verdict of history that the only freedom granted to consciences of the time was the liberty to think as Cromwell thought. If you are of a mind to read this book be prepared to quarrel with statements on almost every page, with its general conclusions, with its lack of logic and objectivity.

* * * *

Georgetown University, established in 1789 and opened two years later as the Academy of George Town, Patowmack River, Maryland, was the first Catholic college in the United States. Founded by Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore it suffered vicissitudes common to educational foundations until 1806 when it was turned over to members of the Society of Jesus. The story of the first fifty years of the pioneer institution is graciously told with apt documentary illustrations by John M. Daley, S.J., in his *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years,* published in 1957 by Georgetown University Press, Washington, D. C. The book of 324 pages, well printed and nicely bound, has a bibliography including archival and printed sources, followed by a servicible index.

* * * *

In 1939 the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in America established a Commission for the Cause of Canonization of the Martyrs of the United States, whose appointed chairman was and has been the Archbishop-Bishop of Erie, Most Reverend John Mark Gannon, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. His Excellency has recently published the history of this Commission under the title: *The Martyrs of the United States of America and Related Essays,* edited by Rt. Rev. Msgr. James M. Powers, Secretary of the Commission. The first forty-two pages contain records of the meetings of the Commission, its members, and Archbishop Gannon's explanations of the terms, scope, and his activity. Then under the general heading of Documents, there are listed 116 priests, brothers, and laymen and women who were slain by natives; a short sketch of each is given along with authorities and proofs necessary for the process of canonization, whereby each may be declared to have died for his faith. Useful lists for cross-reference make an index unnecessary. The handy volume is well printed and illustrated. The book may be purchased for $3.20 from The Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland.

* * * *

In this age of satellites and the extending horizons of space it is interesting to note that the study of those ancient astronomers of America continues without interruption, with the hope that there will someday be discovered the key to the Maya calendar. Two papers on Mayan astronomy were published late last year. *The Miscellaneous Dates of the Dresden Codex,* by Maud W. Makemson,

was No. 6 of the Publications of the Vassar College Observatory, Poughkeepsie, New York. The other is *Eclipses y Cronologia Maya-Mexicana,* by the veteran student of the Mayas, Raul Noriega. This latter is multilithed and illustrated, and is a supplement of *El Universo,* the review of the Sociedad Astronomica de Mexico.

* * * *

From Pôrto Alegre, Brazil, comes the first volume, 1957, of *Pesquisas,* the Annual of the Instituto Anchietåno de Pesquisas. This scholarly publication of the Jesuits of the Colegio Anchieta is to carry research papers in the arts and sciences. The present number of 300 pages contains articles on history, botany, ethnography, history of philosophy, chemistry, and historiography. The first pages give the statutes of the new institute, its purpose and scope. There follows a long article on the archives, the film holdings and manuscripts, and the plans for amplifying and making available all materials on early Brasilian history. An excellent feature is a pair of summaries at the conclusion of each paper, in German and in English for those written in Portuguese, and in English and Portuguese for those in German and French. A better printing format might be adopted, since many of the pages are in very small type, and if the print were uniformly of the size you are here reading, the number of pages in *Pesquisas* would run to 900.

These are valuable researches and we offer the Instituto Anchietano our felicitations and our good wishes for many years of scholarly productivity. The members are following in a long tradition of healthy and objective scholarship peculiar to Brasil, which has flourished for well over a century. Students of Brasil's history will be happy over this new contribution to learning.

* * * *

Two fresh items in a series of volumes based on rare books in the James Ford Bell Collection of the University of Minnesota Library came from the University of Minnesota Press at the end of 1957. Both are fine samples of the printer's art and illustration. Both have forewords by Mr. John Parker, Curator of the Collection, and both were designed by Jane McCarthy. One is *Tidings out of Brazil,* a small volume of forty-eight pages in two-tone print, translated by Mark Graubard. This is the first English translation and facsimile reproduction of a German newsletter

written in the early sixteenth century, which has been the object of controversy among scholars. Who wrote the letter, the *Newe Zeytung?* Were the Straits of Magellan known in 1514, five years before Magellan found the route around South America? Mr. Parker summarizes the evidence in his Commentary and copious notes, and Mr. Graubard does his best with the stubborn and ambiguous German. There are only a thousand copies of the book.

The second publication is *A letter from Oliver Van Noort, Circumnavigator, pertaining to the first Dutch voyage around the world, 1598–1601,* translated, with an historical commentary, by Jan O. M. Broek. This letter of one of the founders of the Dutch East Indian Empire "is considered a cornerstone to the subsequent books, pamphlets, and manuscripts relating to the Dutch East Indies in the Bell Collection," according to Mr. Parker. The brochure is large, thirteen and a half by ten inches, and its cover of heavy paper is an artistic map portraying Van Noort's fleet in the Straits of Magellan. In the middle of the sixteen pages is a double-page spread reproducing the Ortelius map of the world on which the route of Van Noort is traced. The letter of two pages in facsimile is the only one of Van Noort's known to exist.

* * * *

The well-thumbed *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne* which Baron Alexander von Humboldt offered to Charles IV of Spain on March 8, 1808, has been translated by Hensley C. Woodbridge of Murray State College. The first of the six books has been annotated and is now in multilithed form, available in English at the University of Kentucky Library, Lexington, Kentucky. The seventy-two pages are paper bound and stapled. Mr. Woodbridge is preparing the other sections for possible publication, (in book form, we hope) but meanwhile he would be happy to have readers call his attention to any errors, corrections and additions. Baron von Humboldt is one of the three sources most frequently used by budding Latin American history textbook writers. Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas is quoted as the authority on sixteenth century Spanish American, chiefly because of his diatribes against Spanish cruelty; Thomas Gage, an English ex-priest, is often the authority for conditions in the seventeenth century, chiefly because his criticisms were what England wanted to hear; Von Humboldt, whose essay tells the stupid Carlos IV what was wrong with his colonies on the eve of their revolt, became an authority for the whole eighteenth

century. In his notes Mr. Woodbridge does much to amplify the authorities while checking those used by Von Humboldt.

* * * *

Maryland Historical Magazine for December, 1957, has a very interesting and illuminating article, "John Surratt and the Lincoln Assassination Plot," by Alfred Isacsson. John was the son of Mrs. Surrat, who was executed as a conspirator in the death of Lincoln, or, as John later put it, was "murdered by the United States Government." Young Surrat's escape to Canada after the failure of a plot to kidnap the President, his subsequent adventures and escapes, the international complications, his arrest, trial, and dismissal, and his life as a lecturer and teacher, until his death in April, 1916, could well be the subject of an excellent historical film.

* * * *

Montana, the magazine of western history, Winter, 1958, has as its sub-title "The Great Plains Issue." The cover is an unusually attractive reproduction of Charles M. Russell's painting, "The Indian Hunter's Return." In the opening article Walter Prescott Webb gives a report on the reactions to his "The American West—Perpetual Mirage," as published last year in *Harpers.* Professor Webb sticks to his findings, namely, that the heart of the West is a vast desert area including the entire states of Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming and the greater part of the states of Montana, Idaho, and California. Around these are the desert rim states. The desert west, as thus defined, is distinctive, unified, and has special problems growing out of its aridity. Its past and future are discussed in five other pleasingly illustrated articles of this notable issue.

* * * *

One of the recently issued volumes issued by the American History Research Center at Madison, Wisconsin, bears the significant title, *Let There be Light,* by Forrest McDonald, Ph.D., who is the executive secretary of the center. (Other volumes published are: *Medicine in Chicago,* 1850–1950, by Thomas N. Bonner; *Chicago Giant: The Story of Long John Wentworth,* by Don E. Fehrenbacher; and *Memphis during the Progressive Era,* by William D. Miller, reviewed

in this number.) The work written by Dr. McDonald is divided into the age of pioneers, the age of promoters, the age of giants, and the age of institutions. We learn about the men who started the first small power stations, and about the engineering and financial problems they faced. From about the turn of the century, the story of the production of electric power is brought down to the present. It is an impressive story, factually related.—P. K.

* * * *

The recent publication by Dr. John A. Carroll and Mary W. Ashworth of the seventh and final volume in Douglas Southall Freeman's monumental biography of George Washington (*George Washington: First in Peace,* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957) is worthy of the attention of the historical profession. As a result of his untimely death this volume is exclusively the work of his two research associates. As such, it invites comparison with the earlier volumes. While adhering closely to the format established by Dr. Freeman, this work clearly reveals the deft hand of the professional historian. Not only are the footnotes and bibliography far superior to that found in the preceeding volumes, but the author's awareness of the more significant interpretations in the secondary literature make the work an invaluable tool for historians of our early national history. Equally significant is the fact that the authors were not unafraid to be critical of Washington whenever the evidence dictated. The work marks an invaluable addition to Washingtoniana.—J. J. R.

* * * *

Geography in the 20th Century, edited by Griffith Taylor, appeared first in 1951. The second revised and enlarged edition of 1953 added two new chapters. The third, 1957 edition, adds two more chapters on Antarctica and on the relation of geography to history. Twenty-two authorities from five countries contribute the twenty-nine chapters. Chief among the disputed points is the old question: "Does environment control man or does man have a free will?" Determinism, Environmentalism, Possibilism, are thrashed out separately and in the section on special fields of geography. In all, the new addition is an historiography tracing the growth of the study of geography and the philosophies of the scholars of geography. There are 672 numbered pages, plus 14 plates, a folding map, 56 text illustrations, a glossary of geographical terms,

and an index. Philosophical Library, Publishers, New York 16, lists the book at $10.00.

Last year the same Philosophical Library published *The Conquest of the Antarctic,* by Norman Kemp. This is readable, but is merely an *ad interim* report on the plans for the expeditions to the South Pole as they were over a year ago. Since then much progress has been made by the British, New Zealand, Russian, and American expeditionaries. Indeed, all was quite sportsmanlike, but now the New Zealand and British pressmen have been in a dither over the Dr. Vivian Fuchs—Sir Edmund Hillary affair. A number of other nations are also sending their teams scrambling over the ice to establish South Pole bases, presumedly as a contribution to the Geophysical Year. The price is $4.75.

Khrushchev of the Ukraine, by Victor Alexandrov, has been translated from the French by Paul Selver and Wade Baskin and published by Philosophical Library. Alexandrov, journalist and novelist, was born in Russia and is now an American citizen. Some of his sources are public, but he depends largely upon an unnamed former Russian diplomat. The biography of Nikita and his rise to power over the dead bodies of his enemies runs to the pattern of a biography of any of our notorious gangsters, a Capone, a Luciano, or a Costello. If all Alexandrov's facts are true, there is no likelihood of peace breaking out anywhere until Mr. Khrushchev is arrested for his misdeeds and brought to trial, preferably in the Ukraine.

* * * *

Japan Dictionary might better have been named *Japanalia,* since it is a compilation arranged alphabetically of "the ordinary and extraordinary happenings and things of everyday Japanese life." It is a revision of the 1937 edition, including many of the changes that have taken place in the past twenty years. Beginning with twelve pages of history in outline there are some two hundred pages of items about which every traveler in Japan should know, whether personage, costume, custom, deity, or symbol. Innumerable pen sketches break the pages. An art map, a colored frontispiece, and modern photographs add their value. The author is Lewis Bush, the publisher is Philosophical Library, and the list price is $10.00.

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Freedom and the Frontier: A Pertinent Re-Examination

Nearly sixty-five years have elapsed since Frederick Jackson Turner first read his paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," at a meeting of the American Historical Association. Since then a generation of American historians have written history in the light of his theories; then followed the generation of revisionists, especially motivated by the era of the Great Depression. Sometimes the revisionists measured the Turner thesis by the principles of economic determinism, and quite frankly their rationale—a product of their era—today sounds far more absurd than does the thesis they were criticizing.[1] Others avoided the pitfalls of economic determinism, but armed themselves with historical meat cleavers and chopped Turner's glittering statements into meaningless mince-meat.[2]

Probably this iconoclasm was good. The historians of this great country should never allow themselves to be restricted to a single theory that strives to explain complicated American conduct in a complex world. But neither should this theory be buried and forgotten. As we enter into each new era the Turner thesis should be re-examined in the light of new developments. Where does Turner's thesis—that "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous

Editor's Note. This paper was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Minneapolis, April 25, 1958.

[1] For example see Murray Kane, "Some Considerations of the Frontier Concept of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27 (December, 1940), 379–400, or Lewis Hacker's critical review of Turner's *The Significance of Sections in American History*, in the *Nation*, 137 (July 26, 1933), 108–110.

[2] George W. Pierson, "The Frontier and Frontiersmen of Turner's Essay," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 64 (October, 1940), 449–478.

recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development"—where does this thesis stand today? Is it as outmoded as the horse and buggy? Or can it help us wrestle with that statement which Professor Turner repeated over and over again to his classes: "We do not understand ourselves." Can it give us direction?

A re-examination of Turner's writings leads me to believe that the Turner thesis can give us direction today, can help us to understand ourselves. Of course, to trace all the threads of thought in the thesis is impossible here, but I have chosen the foremost of all the concepts of American life, the concept of freedom, and I propose to suggest what freedom meant on the American frontier; secondly, to suggest what kind of a man and what kind of a society it created in nineteenth century America; and finally, to show what elements of that freedom are worth striving to regain or retain today. For if the essence of democracy is freedom, then if people forget the meaning of freedom, if they lose the spirit of freedom, it follows that their democracy is in grave danger.

What did freedom mean on the American frontier?

Freedom on the frontier was as unrestricted as the land was wide and the settlement was sparse. Yet, just as there were geographical limits, just as there was some settlement, so were there always some restrictions. Freedom on the frontier never meant license, save possibly in a few absolute beginnings, as in the disastrous attempts to found Jamestown. And as the frontier advanced, so too did the number of established mores, the accepted restrictions. To a degree these restrictions hedged a man in, reducing his freedom of action in many a slight way. The hunter wandering through the virgin forest might come upon a bee tree, but upon the dead trunk he saw initials cut by a neighboring pioneer. The hunter would curse his luck but leave the bee tree alone, for the blaze on the trunk symbolized ownership by another man, and woe to any frontiersman who would arbitrarily take possession.[3] The mountain man, as freedom-loving as any man who ever lived, might come upon a rival's cache of furs. He was aware he could "lift" the cache and never be caught. But he did not do so. Why not? Because it was a part of the unwritten code of that reckless breed of men never to disturb another man's cache.[4] It is clear that the most rugged and freedom-loving of peoples,

[3] Richard G. Lillard, *The Great Forest*, New York, 1948, 92.
[4] Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, New York, 1935, I, 72.

those living along a frontier that had scarcely felt the touch of true civilization, submitted to a few restrictions that were recognized by all as necessary for the common good. There was an inner sense of honor among these groups that fostered a rough kind of honesty and integrity which made their freedom and their individualism a practical possibility.

But what kind of restrictions to freedom existed on the more populated agricultural frontiers or on the mining frontiers, where settlement was so often a matter of flush times brought on by speculation, or the result of a strike of precious ore? This is important, for a most common concept of the frontier is that of an area frankly fluid and unstable, an area which yesterday was howling wilderness, today is rapidly filling with settlers, and which tomorrow would become an established community with a proud civilization. Nashville was like that, as was Chicago and Omaha, Denver and Helena, Dodge City and Abilene. What did freedom mean to these places, when they were a part of the frontier?

The restrictions were there, and more of them, too, than on the earliest frontier. But more than this was present. Implicit in all the relations of men in these frontier communities there was an ever-present, tacit understanding of moral restrictions. Alexis de Toqueville noticed this, and suggested that in America it was the observance of divine laws which led men to civil freedom.[5] The frontier phrase that "there is a great day coming" not only meant a future prosperity, but it meant a future of schools and churches, of law and order, as well.

To put it another way, men on the frontier never forgot how they *should* live, and deviations from social, moral or divine laws—deviations which, heaven knows, did occur at Dodge, Abilene, Nashville, and Chicago in their frontier heyday—were understood to be not right, and to be only temporary. Implicit in the very toleration of these frontier freedoms was the realization that the day would come when vice would be eliminated, and churches and schools would arise where dens of iniquity existed then.

One of innumerable examples of this recognition of a moral code was Pap Wyman's notorious saloon and gambling house at Leadville, Colorado, where there was an enormous grandfather-type clock. On its face was printed in bold, black letters: DON'T SWEAR, and on the desk below the clock was an open Bible. True,

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[5] Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve, New York, 1899, I, 26.

Pap found it necessary to chain the Bible to the table, but still the implication was clear.[6] Freedom in the moral vein was never wholly accepted; it was reluctantly condoned, and it was understood by all that a restoration of moral restrictions would be among the first actions when the great day that was coming arrived. If the day did not come soon enough, then vigilantes supplied with some stout rope might hasten the establishment of morality and order.

Such was freedom on the American frontier. It was not license. Always there were a few restrictions, always there was the recognized moral law, even if it was not yet enforced. But these restrictive fences, these boundaries that constituted "off limits," were so far away that the frontiersman rarely noticed them. As a matter of fact, he actually *was* about as free as a man could want to be.

What is more significant, the frontiersman knew that he was free. He loved the Stars and Stripes because it was symbol of his freedom; he swaggered down the street like a free man; he talked like a free man; he thought like a free man. His freedom was effervescent; it made of him a character unlike any the world had ever seen before. And long before Turner, this type of human being which called itself American had attracted the notice of many discerning men.

"What, then, is this American, this new man?" asked Michael-Guillaume Jean de Crevecoeur late in the eighteenth century. Even at that early date the perceptive Crevecoeur could provide an answer, as mentioned by Professor Schlessenger and others, which stressed the feeling of freedom brought on by the easy acquisition of virtually free land. "The American," he wrote, ". . . is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence—this is an American."[7] To be an American meant to own land, to work it, and to reap its rewards. "Ye poor Europeans," added Crevecoeur with pity, ". . . ye, who are held in less estimation than favourite hunters or useless lap-dogs—ye, who only breathe the air of nature, because it cannot be withheld from you; it is here that ye can conceive the possibility of those feelings I have been describing. . . ."[8]

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[6] Muriel Sibell Wolle, *Stampede to Timberline* (Boulder, Colorado, sponsored by the University of Colorado and published by Muriel S. Wolle, 1949), 48.

[7] J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, New York, 1957, 40.

[8] *Ibid.*, 56.

These were the observations of a writer in the latter part of the eighteenth century. What about the American of the nineteenth century? This was our century of frontiers, all of them passing hurriedly by—twenty years for the mountain men, twenty years for the cattlemen's frontier, a constantly moving agricultural frontier, and brief moments of high freedom in the mining frontiers before heavy industry overtook the lucky prospector. What were the characteristics of the Americans who blazed these nineteenth century frontiers? How did these characteristics flavor the complex mixture that was the nineteenth century American?

Turner described the personality traits that were inherited from the freedom-loving frontier: "That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are the traits [he says] of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier."[9]

Are these mere glittering generalities, or do they concur with the observations of other scholars? Let us compare them with the remarks of James Bryce who, in his *American Commonwealth,* attempted to list the national characteristics of Americans. He described them as "a moral and well-conducted people"; he found them a religious people, whose "desire to expunge or cure the visible evils of the world [was] strong"; yet they were "an unreverential people . . . little disposed . . . to defer to the opinions of those who [were] wiser or better instructed than themselves"; he found the Americans a busy people. He said: "The sense that there is no time to spare haunts an American even when he might find the time, and would do best for himself by finding it." They were a crassly commercial people, and success to them was "a matter of profit and loss." Bryce found them a practical people: "Abstract reasoning they dislike, subtle reasonings they suspect"; he wrote, "they accept nothing as practical which is not plain, downright apprehensible by an ordinary understanding." Withal this, Americans were "an impressionable people . . . an unsettled people" who were "nevertheless an associative because a sympathetic people." And the

[9] "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner,* Madison, 1938, 227–228.

people of the United States were good-natured, kindly, and helpful. "Even a mob lynching a horse-thief in the West," Bryce emphasized, "has consideration for the criminal, and will give him a good drink of whiskey before he is strung up."[10]

Bryce stressed that Americans were emotional and changeful, endowed with what chemists called a "low specific heat"; Americans grew warm suddenly and cooled just as suddenly; they seemed "all to take flame at once." Yet for all this there was a deeply embedded conservatism in American nature. "The Americans," he observed, "are satisfied with the world they live in, for they have found it a good world, in which they have grown rich and can sit under their own vine and fig tree, none making them afraid."[11]

There was much similarity between Turner's description and Bryce's description; both reveal clearly the effects of the frontier upon the American character: the hurry and the bustle, the materialism, the restlessness, the buoyancy and quick exuberance, working for good and for evil, the "low specific heat" which led them to "grow warm suddenly and cool suddenly"—these were the traits which came with freedom, these were the traits of the frontier. And they became the personality traits of nineteenth century America.

Americans recall that century with nostalgia. It was the century of firecrackers and the Fourth of July oration, of blooded horses and bearded faces, of bad men without psychological explanations and good men who were true-blue to the core. There is something quaint about the tooting locomotive belching smoke from its enormous stack, or about the saloons with the swinging doors. And the century ends in a grand finale of exuberant patriotism with the coming of the Spanish-American War. Theodore Roosevelt is our symbol of swaggering self-confidence.

A superficial analysis, this? Quite possibly, but let us keep in mind that most Americans are not historians. They accept the superficial, and the concept of an America that was happy, prosperous, optimistic, and exuberant satisfies them. "Life in America," Bryce wrote in the 1880's, "is in most ways pleasanter, easier, simpler than in Europe; it floats in a sense of happiness like that of a radiant summer morning."[12]

Does American life today float "in a sense of happiness like that of a radiant summer morning?"

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[10] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth,* New York, 1903, II, 281–292.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *The American Commonwealth,* II, 825.

Of course not. We are reminded that the nation has filled up; science and technology have shrunk our world; life has become complicated, competition has become intense, and an urban society must restrict freedoms if the body politic is to survive. We have become callous and cynical: we darkly inform others that "we were not born yesterday." All of the tensions caused by urbanization, by science, and by the competitive marathon with a powerful adversary have restricted the freedoms bred by the frontier, until sometimes, these days, the clarion word of freedom sounds a bit hollow.

If the freedoms have been restricted, what has happened to the character that those freedoms fostered? What has happened to that youthful, exuberant individual the world called an American? Has he ceased to be a type? Has he lost the virtues as well as the vices of that nineteenth century American?

Undue pessimism is not necessary in our reply. We must remember that when the frontier ended in the West it left a golden glow which, like a sunset, only gradually disappeared. The twentieth century American is, after all, only the son or the grandson of his nineteenth century predecessor, and many strains bred by the frontier are still to be found amongst themselves. In fact, until the fifth decade of the present century, the 1940's, change was slow enough for the American character to accept it, absorb it and still retain its essential characteristics. After all, the freedoms were not all restricted at once: first came railroads and corporations submitting to regulations through the Interstate Commerce Act, the Sherman Anti-trust Act, and subsequent legislation of a similar nature, each making it clearer that the days of the robber barons were numbered. The social justice movement protected the weak from the unrestricted freedoms of the strong, thereby correcting one of the faults of the frontier freedoms. The First World War, with the draft and the espionage law, certainly restricted basic freedoms and encouraged bigotry, but with a remarkable resiliency, much of this lost freedom was subsequently recovered. In labor relations men surrendered some freedoms in exchange for the freedom of security. To a degree the Great Depression may have cut down on the verve and optimism of our people, but the vigor with which the nation embraced the trials and accepted the errors of the New Deal spoke well for the youth of a people willing to experiment and change.

It is my contention that at the end of the Second World War the American was still American as accepted type—swaggering

and cock-sure and optimistic. Today however, and for the past twelve or thirteen years, there have been signs of change.

The frontier freedoms are being crushed by the insecurity of modern society, and especially, when we think of the Cold War. A man cannot swagger when he must glance over his shoulder in fear of attack by an adversary. A man who has begun to doubt his own ability, who fears that someone else may best him, is no longer a free man; in frontier terminology, he is not so sure he can "lick his weight in wildcats" any more, or "outstare a b'ar" into submission! If too many men feel that way, then their nation can no longer be free either. The American could become, as so many people in the stream of history have become, frightened, cowed, complacent, subject to tyranny over both mind and body.

Today's American is losing more than the sense of the "can do," more than the sense of confidence, more than the individualism: he is losing that spirit of freedom which every frontiersman felt in the very marrow of his bones. Turner knew this spirit as a growing boy in backwoods Wisconsin; Crevecoeur sensed it in eighteenth century America; de Toqueville and Bryce observed it in the nineteenth century; Fourth of July orators extolled it. It gave us happiness and optimism and democracy: it made life worth living and it made America the best of all nations in which to live.

This spirit, our spirit of freedom, is the golden heritage of our frontier youth. Like a fire almost extinguished, this heritage can be and must be coaxed and nurtured back to blazing life.

For if we maintain this spirit of freedom—this magic ingredient from a frontier long since past, which stamped men AMERICAN—then we, as historians, can predict with the same confidence that our forefathers on the frontier predicted:

"There's a great day coming!"

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The South and the Supreme Court

Introduction

In recent years many white Southerners in the United States have been irritated by a series of Supreme Court decisions affecting racial segregation. Resentment has gone beyond modest criticism of the Court's reasoning in these decisions, and has occasionally spilled over into wholesale condemnation of the Court and all its works past and present. How has the South fared at the hands of the Supreme Court in American history? Is there evidence to show that the Court has been to any degree consistently biased against the South across the 168 years since the founding of the Republic? This study attempts to provide an answer by reviewing decisions of the Court touching most directly on Southern[1] interests.

The leading and most enduring Southern interest has been white supremacy[2] which was securely bolted on top of Negro slavery before the Civil War, and afterwards protected by other techniques. The Court's position on white supremacy will therefore be the chief measuring rod of its treatment of the South. Southern

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[1] The term "Southerner" may be confusing. Is the Southern Negro to be classified as a "Southerner," and do we include him when we say the "South" thinks this or that? If we count the Negro, then the complexion of Southern opinion may be quite altered. Would we say Southern opinion favors white supremacy? I doubt if the colored half of Mississippi or the colored third of Georgia believes in that. Suppose we take a poll of Southern opinion about white supremacy in Tuskegee, Alabama? The term as used herein means the Southern white man.

[2] Southern politicians have often spoken out for state rights. Is the Court's position on state rights therefore a good test of its attitude toward the South? No. The most casual reading of American history will show that advocacy of state rights has not been a Southern monopoly, nor has the South consistently upheld it. State rights has been championed in all sections of the country at one time or another as an argument against federal power whenever that power threatened some regional interest. State righters have readily abandoned their doctrine to clamor for more vigorous federal action whenever it served their purposes to do so.

Admittedly the South has relied on the state rights argument more frequently than other sections of the country, but this is not because of any innate love of it, but chiefly because the South has found itself continuously at odds with the rest of the country over the race issue, and therefore has needed a ready argument with which to discourage federal action in race matters.

Believers in state rights hold a narrow view of the delegated powers of the federal government, and a broad view of the reserved powers of the states.

representation on the Court, and the Court's position on reconstruction will also be reviewed.

Southern Representation on the Court

How many members of the Supreme Court have been Southerners? Ninety-six men have sat on the Court since the Republic was founded in 1789. If by the term "South" we mean the states of the Civil War Confederacy, 23 of the justices have been Southerners (32 if we include Maryland and Kentucky which in pre-Civil war years were slave states). This means that about one-fourth of the justices have been Southern. The South has always been represented on the Court except betwween 1867 and 1881.

While the proportion of Southern justices has been lower since the Civil War, there have been critical periods in our history when Southern representation was heavy. Consider, for example, the decade immediately preceding the Civil War (1851-1861). During most of that decade four members were from states soon to secede from the Union.[3] Furthermore, Chief Justice Taney was from the border state of Maryland. Thus five out of nine were at least not Northerners.

In 1860 and 1861, the loss of two Southerners seriously cut Southern representation. But Wayne of Georgia and Catron of Tennessee stayed with the Court throughout the war and so did Chief Justice Taney of Maryland. Thus, even during the Civil War, two members of Lincoln's Court originated from seceded states, and his Chief Justice was from a state which almost certainly would have seceded were it not for the imminent presence of Union troops.

In representation on the Court the South was not discriminated against before or during the Civil War. Between 1867 and 1880, however, no Southerner sat on the Court. In 1867, the last Southern judge died, Wayne of Georgia, and for a long time it was politically out of the question to appoint a Southerner to the Court. The time was not ripe until 1881 when Woods of Georgia was appointed. Since then the South has had a reasonably fair share of membership, though never more than that. Except for the brief period alluded to, the policy initiated by George Washington

[3] Wayne of Georgia, McKinley of Alabama who in 1853 was replaced by Campbell of Alabama, Catron of Tennessee and Daniel of Virginia who died in 1860.

of providing sectional representation on the Court has been followed with great consistency.

The significance of sectional representation is not overwhelming. The mere fact that a judge is born and bred in the South does not necesarily mean that his judicial opinions will be "Southern". The fact that Justice Black and Justice Clark are from the South did not prevent them from voting against segregation in the public schools.[4]

The judicial branch of the federal government is more isolated from political pressure than the legislative and executive branches. Federal judges on constitutional courts are appointed for life.[5] By contrast, most state judges, being elected, and for relatively short terms, are slightly more tempted to render decisions with an eye more to the next election than to justice.

Slavery

Did the Supreme Court crucify the South on the slavery issue? There is no evidence that it did. The Court never took a stand against slavery and had no hand in ending it. Occasionally the Court made decisions weighing negatively on the cause of slavery, but none of these seriously threatened the institution.

Curiously enough, no case involving slavery came before the Court until 1829 even though slavery had long been a subject of warm debate. The first case, *Boyce v. Anderson,*[6] arose from a tragic accident on the Mississippi River in which a small boat upset drowning its "cargo" of slaves. The owner of the slaves sued the carrier, charging negligence in care of cargo and in handling the boat. The Court was faced with the question whether the responsibility of the carrier should be measured by the law applicable to passengers, or by the law applicable to the carriage of common goods. The Court readily concluded that "in his char-

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[4] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* 347 U. S. 483 (1954), which declared racially segregated public schools unconstitutional, was a unanimous decision in which all the judges concurred regardless of where they came from, including two Southern judges; Clark of Texas and Black of Alabama.

[5] "Constitutional Courts" (distinguished from "Legislative Courts") are U. S. District Courts, U. S. Courts of Appeals and the U. S. Supreme Court. Judges on these courts are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, and serve during good behavior. They may not be removed by Congress except by conviction following impeachment. No Supreme Court justice has ever been removed. Judges are made independent in several other ways besides life appointments.

[6] 2 Pet. 150 (1829).

acter, he [the slave] resembles a passenger, not a package of goods." "Slaves because they are human cannot be stowed away in a common package."

The Boyce Case involved a comparatively minor issue. Nevertheless, any official recognition of the *human* characteristics of slaves was bound to weigh against the cause of slavery in a nation whose Declaratin of Independence asserts the inherent right of all *humans* to liberty.

U. S. v. Schooner Amistad,[7] also went against the slave holding interest. The case arose when forty-nine Negroes being brought to this country illegally to be sold as slaves seized the ship near Cuba and murdered its officers. From Cuba the Africans sailed north to a point near Long Island, New York, where they were apprehended by a United States war vessel. Subsequently they were claimed by their alleged owners. The Supreme Court decided in favor of the Negroes and set them free.

The Amistad Case gave an opportunity for such outspoken opponents of slavery as seventy-five year old former president John Quincy Adams to express their views. Adams served as defense counsel for the Negroes, and regarded his victory as one of the crowning achievements of his life. Some Southerners wondered whether the Amistad decision meant the Court had committed itself to an anti-slavery policy.

Decisions directly affirming the legal right of one man to own another or otherwise bolstering the institution of slavery were more numerous. In 1841 the case of *Groves vs Slaughter*[8] came before the Court concerning the power of the states over slavery. A questionable provision of the Mississippi consitution halting the purchase of slaves from outside the state (an economic measure) was the cause of litigation.[9] The Court could have decided that Mississippi's prohibition on the purchase of slaves from other states amouted to an unconstitutional attempt to regulate interstate commerce, a power delegated to Congress. Such a decision would have been a flat contradiction of the South's contention that all Negro legislation should be left to the states, and would have opened the gates to federal legislation under the commerce clause restricting the slave trade,—or worse.

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[7] 15 Pet. 518 (1841).
[8] 15 Pet. 449 (1841).
[9] This provision was not put in the Mississippi Constitution by abolitionists of course. It was merely an attempt to elevate the prosperity of Mississippi by preventing the flow of money out of the state for the purchase of slaves, which were expensive.

The case was disposed of on a technicality, and big questions went unanswered. The Court's failure to strike down the Mississippi provision was hailed by Southerners as a victory for state rights. They were soon resting their arguments for territorial and state control of slavery on *Groves v. Slaughter,* ignoring the fact that the Court's decision was based on a technicality.

Perhaps Justice McLean's concurring opinion was thought to reveal the true sentiments of the Court. His opinion was in some ways offensive to the South, for it had revealed him as an opponent of slavery. But McLean also said some things that fell sweetly on Southern ears. Ohio, for abolitionist reasons, had banned the importation of slaves into the state. In his defense of the right of Ohio to do that, McLean said, "The power over slavery belongs to the states respectively. It is local in its character, and in its effects; and the transfer or sale of slaves cannot be separated from this power. It is, indeed, an essential part of it." This was exactly the point Southerners had been trying to make for a long time.

In 1842, another case, *Prigg v. Pennsylvania,*[10] touched on the question of state versus federal power to legislate on the subject of slavery. The case arose out of the method used by a Maryland slavemaster in securing the return of certain slaves who had run away to Pennsylvania. The federal fugitive slave law provided a lawful method for securing their return. However, when the Marylander found authorities slow to move, he seized his slaves by force and violence and returned them to bondage. In so doing he violated a Pennsylvania law against such seizures, and was tried and convicted. On appeal to the Supreme Court he contested the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania law. The Court struck down the law, on grounds that the federal government had preempted the fugitive slave field and that all state law on the subject was therefore null and void whether designed to help or hinder the federal law.

The Prigg Case was the object of sharp attention in both the North and South. The Court's final decision, of course, saddened Northerners. However, Southern jubilation was marred by the fact that the Court had given exclusive jurisdiction to the federal government in an area touching the slave issue. This meant that if Northern state laws hindering slavery could be struck down because of federal pre-emption of the field, why, by the same

[10] 16 Pet. 539 (1842).

reasoning, not Southern laws upholding slavery? Nevertheless, this decision strengthened the fugitive law, and with it the institution of slavery.

In 1846, the Court faced squarely the question whether the fugitive slave law was constitutional. In *Jones v. Van Zandt*[11] one of the litigants argued that the ownership of one man by another is invalid and should be disregarded by the courts. Obviously the Court had within its power here to declare the freedom of all slaves by accepting this line of reasoning. The Court, however said that property in man "is a political question, settled by each state for itself." This decision was well received in the South, but a bitter pill for the North.

The Wisconsin "Booth Cases" illustrate the vehement hostility of some Northerners to the fugitive slave law and to Supreme Court decisions upholding it. Booth was a Wisconsin abolitionist editor who helped rescue a fugitive slave from authorities in Milwaukee. He was arrested by a United States Marshal for violation of the fugitive slave law, but quickly released on a writ of habeas corpus by an ardently anti-slavery justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, The issue was argued before the Wisconsin Court which proceeded to hold the fugitive slave law unconstitutional, heedless of the fact that the United States Supreme Court had already upheld it. The Wisconsin Court was in a mood to defy federal authority. Booth was accordingly released, but later indicted by a federal grand jury, and tried and convicted in a United States District Court for violation of the fugitive slave law. Again the Supreme Court of Wisconsin released him, holding the law was unconstitutional. Eventually the Booth Cases[12] reached the United States Supreme Court, which again upheld the fugitive slave law. For this the Court was applauded in the South and cursed in the North.

Meanwhile the Court had delivered its Dred Scott decision[13] which was the last straw for many abolitionists.[14] The Dred Scott Case was brought by a Negro of that name who had been moved by his master first to Illinois, a free state, and then into unorganized territory north of 36° 30″ where slavery had been forbidden by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and then back to Missouri.

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11 5 How. 215 (1847).
12 *Ableman v. Booth, In re Booth, U. S. v. Booth,* 21 How. 506 (1858).
13 *Scott v. Sandford,* 19 How. 393 (1857).
14 *Strader v. Graham,* 10 How. 82 (1851) involving facts almost identical to those of Dred Scott was settled on a technicality.

Having been first in a free state and then in a territory where slavery was forbidden, Scott thought he had by virtue of this been emancipated, and forthwith sued for his freedom. The case eventually reached to the United States Supreme Court which decided among other things that Congress had no right to deprive a citizen of his property by passing a law banning slavery in the territory north of 36° 30″.

For many years Congress had been struggling to decide how far slavery should be allowed into the western territory not yet organized into states.[15] It was assumed that those territories wherein slavery was allowed would eventually become "slave states" sending representatives to Congress to vote in the Southern bloc. Non-slave territories would presumably end up in the Northern abolitionist bloc. Immediately prior to the Missouri Compromise of 1820 there were eleven states in the Southern bloc and eleven in the Northern. Both sections feared the other would get the upper hand in the United States Senate which receives two members from each state. Many painful years the Congress labored to work out compromises establishing lines between slave and non-

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15 The question of slavery in the territories was first settled and then unsettled as conditions changed. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, one of the first laws enacted by Congress, prohibited slavery in the territories. In those days the Union was loose and the struggle between North and South for control of federal power was far less intense than it later became. As federal power mounted, so did the desire to control it.

By 1820 all the territory acquired during the Revolution had been converted into states except what is now Michigan, Wisconsin and Northeastern Minnesota. Population was flooding across the Mississippi into the Louisiana Purchase area, and some of these areas were ripening for statehood, particularly Missouri. Nothing had been done to prohibit slavery in the new territories acquired since the Revolution, and numerous slaveholders had established wheat and cotton plantations around St. Louis. Northerners feared the admission of Missouri as a slave state would be a dangerous precedent because it lay almost wholly north of the presumed boundary between the sections. A compromise was worked out by which Missouri was admitted as a slave state, while Maine was admitted as a free state to strike the balance, and a definite line between slave and free territory was established at 36° 30″.

Between 1820 (the date of the Missouri Compromise) and 1850 the struggle intensified. Congress was deadlocked on practically all issues concerning slavery. Meanwhile, the nation had acquired vast new territories in the Far West including Texas in 1845, and the area now occupied by Washington and Oregon and Idaho from England in 1845, and the area now comprising California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Nevada from Mexico in 1848. The Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30″ did not apply to this new ground and Congress was so split on the slavery issue that it was unable even to agree on basic legislation providing elementary territorial government for this area. However, finally a compromise was laboriously worked out, only to be destroyed by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision which in 1857 opened all the territories to slavery. War soon followed.

slave territories. Then the Dred Scott decision blandly announced that Congress could not draw any lines. Congress had no authority, said the Court, to exclude slavery from any territory! Slaves are property and the constitution guarantees a man the right to move with his property wherever he likes and the federal government has a duty to protect that property.

With one stroke of the pen all of the elaborate compromises concerning slavery were swept into the ash can and the entire nation opened up to slavery.

Reconstruction

For a brief time after the Civil War, the South was occupied and ruled by the Federal Army[16] to foster "reconstruction." The Court never directly passed on the constitutionality of this military rule. However, in *Ex Parte Milligan,*[17] delivered before the First Reconstruction Act of 1870, the Court held that "martial law may not be imposed on an area unless there is an actual and present danger and an invasion at hand which effectually closes the courts and disposes of the civil administration." In elaborating on this the Court said,

> If, in foreign invasion or civil war, the courts are actually closed, and it is impossible to administer criminal justice according to law, then, on the theater of actual military operations, where war really prevails, there is a necessity to furnish a substitute for the Civil authority thus overthrown, to preserve the safety of the army and of society; and as no power is left but the military, it is allowed to govern by martial rule until the laws can have their free course.

The Supreme Court apparently would have had no alternative but to declare the military rule provisions of the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional under the Milligan decision, had the ques-

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[16] Congressional reconstruction began with passage of the First Reconstruction Act of 2 March 1867 and ended roughly in 1870 when the last of the Southern States were "readmitted" to the Union by Congress, and the Armies withdrawn.

[17] 4 Wallace 2 (1866). In this case, the power of the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and to substitute trial by military authority for trial in ordinary civil courts was tested. Milligan, a civilian, was arrested by the commander of the military districts of Indiana and was tried in 1864 by a military commission which had been established under presidential authority. Milligan was found guilty of initiating insurrection, and was sentenced to be hanged. In 1865 he sued out a writ of habeas corpus to the U. S. Circuit Court in Indiana alleging that his trial was unconstitutional because the President had, in his view, no authority to substitute military for civilian authority.

tion presented itself. Peace did prevail in the South. Civil government was in fact functioning everywhere. President Johnson had proclaimed in August, 1866, that the insurrection had ended and that peace, order, tranquility and civil authority then existed throughout the whole of the United States. However, the Court never put a hand on this highly questionable peacetime military rule of the South which extended uninhibited until 1870. The Supreme Court skillfully avoided the issue.

Why? Was it because the Court secretly relished the tough Northern policy? It is too easy for us, ninety years removed from the event to jump to conclusions about the Court's motivation, and to condemn it for failure to seek out opportunities to declare the reconstruction acts unconstitutional. If we could transport ourselves back to those years which fell on the heels of the Civil War, could re-create the charged atmosphere of Congress, sense the absolute determination of Radical Republicans to "reconstruct" the South,[18] and see their refusal to be deterred by man or beast, we might sympathize with the Court's wish to avoid the active hostility of Congress. There had already been calls for impeachment of the Court after the Milligan decision. The dignity of the Court could not have been preserved by doing a thing which would almost certainly have lead to impeachment, or to Court packing, or to gerrymandering of jurisdiction.

The Court had several opportunities to pass on the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts. In 1868, suit was brought by the state of Georgia against Secretary of War Stanton, to enjoin enforcement of the Reconstruction Acts. Georgia contended that enforcement of the acts destroyed the state's constitutionally guaranteed authority as a member of the Union.[19]

The Court dismissed the case[20] on grounds that the Court had no jurisdiction over cases involving the political rights of states, and that the Court's jurisdiction is limited to cases involving the

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[18] Radical Republicans were motivated partially by a desire to delay the return of Democrats to Congress and to restrain temporarily the influence of Southern Democratic votes in presidential elections.

[19] It is interesting to note that Southern secessionist politicians who loudly asserted their complete break with the Union during the Civil War, were, after the war, loudly asserting that they were never legally out of the Union. Conversely, Northerners who tenaciously insisted during the war that Southern States were still members of an indestructible Union with no right to secede, were, in the reconstruction period insisting that the Southern States had left the Union and should be treated as occupied territories and not allowed back into the Union until properly "reconstructed."

[20] *Georgia v. Stanton*, 6 Wallace 50 (1868).

rights of persons and property. This is a judicial doctrine which the Court continues to assert, and is part of its general policy to avoid "political" questions. While the Court wishes to be courageous, it does not wish to be foolhardy, and will excuse itself when issues are presented involving interests too big for it to cope with.

Another case developed concerning reconstruction when the State of Mississippi sought to enjoin President Johnson from enforcing certain Reconstruction Acts. The Court held that an injunction against the President of the United States would hardly make sense. The President is responsible for enforcing the orders of federal courts, and would have to enforce the injunction against himself, which the court surmised was more than could be expected. Thus the case was dismissed[21] and the Reconstruction Act continued in force, and the Court chalked up another success in its effort to avoid "political questions."

In 1869, two more cases touching directly on the Reconstruction Acts came before the Court. The first of these cases, *Ex Parte McCardle*[22] presented facts which seemed almost certain to compel the Court to make a decision about the legality of military government in the South. A certain Mississippi newspaper editor named McCardle published articles alleged to be incendiary and libelous. He was taken into custody by military authorities for trial before a military commission. The Reconstruction Act of 1867 provided that military commanders might utilize at their discretion the ordinary civil tribunals *or* military tribunals in the maintenance of order in their area. Having been seized by military authorities, McCardle petitioned for a writ of habeas corpus and the stage was set for the Court to hold military authority over civil affairs in peacetime unlawful. Congress, agitated over the prospect of such a decision, initiated a crash program to stop the Court.

Under its power to decide what cases the United States Supreme Court may hear on appeal from lower courts,[23] Congress enacted a law, while the McCardle case was being heard, forbidding the Court to take habeas corpus cases on appeal from the Circuit Court.[24] The Supreme Court had plenty of time to render a de-

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21 *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 4 Wallace 475 (1867).
22 7 Wallace 506 (1869).
23 The U. S. Constitution says, "The Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make." (Article III)
24 Act of March 27, 1868, 15 Stat. at L. 44.

cision before Congress acted, but chose to wait for the bill, delayed by a presidential veto, to pass before acting. By that time it was able to dismiss the case for want of jurisdiction and was conveniently able to escape making a decision on the legality of military rule.

Also in 1869 came *Ex Parte Yerger*[25] with facts similar to those of the McCardle Case. Yerger, a civilian, had petitioned the Court for a writ of habeas corpus releasing him from Army control in Mississippi. However, before the hearing, Yerger was released to civil authorities in Mississippi. With the object of the petition removed the case was dismissed.

Shortly thereafter, troops were removed from the South and the Court breathed a sigh of relief that it would no longer have that hot potato to fumble with. It was clear to everyone what decision the Court would have liked to have made. No evidence can be shown that the Court in this period was anti-Southern. Only fear of the consequences prevented it from declaring the reconstruction military rule of the South unconstitutional.

White Supremacy After the Civil War

The 13th Amendment, adopted in 1865, prohibited slavery. Three years later the 14th Amendment asserted that the Negro was not only free but also a citizen entitled to life, liberty, property and protection against state imposed discrimination. In 1870, the 15th Amendment guaranteed Negroes the same right to vote as white people. It is indeed surprising that the Court has found *any* leeway, considering these Amendments, to uphold white supremacy and the so-called Southern way of life founded upon it. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, were clearly intended to put Negroes on a basis of legal equality with other American citizens.

Since these Amendments were adopted, the Court has decided a number of cases adversely for the cause of white supremacy. It has declared unconstitutional a few of the more heavy footed techniques employed to preserve white supremacy. Some important ones are discussed below to show the types of practices the Court was called upon to weigh in the scales of justice. It seems doubtful that the Court was motivated by an anti-Southern bias in making its decisions regarding peonage, zoning, restrictive covenants, jury duty, and forced confessions.

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[25] 8 Wallace 85 (1869).

After the Civil War some Southern states passed laws to restore the Negro to a condition of servitude or peonage. One variety of these laws, aimed at farm workers or tenants, made it in effect a crime to break a contract of employment or to fail to repay loans. Simultaneously laws were enacted to allow persons convicted of such offenses to borrow from a money lender to pay the fine and to reimburse him by working upon terms approved by the court. These laws worked together like the jaws of a gear. Failure to perform the labor agreed to also constituted a crime, for which another fine would be imposed and paid in the same way. The Supreme Court declared such laws to be unconstitutional because they resulted in a condition of enforced servitude by which the victim is compelled to labor in liquidation of some debt or obligation, either real or pretended, against his will.

Involuntary servitude is prohibted by the 13th Amendment, except for punishment of those convicted of a legitimate crime. The Court has said that failure to pay debts and fulfill contracts are not crimes for which involuntary servitude may be imposed, and therefore state laws which make them crimes are unconstitutional.

In 1867, Congress enacted a statute prohibiting peonage and imposing penalties on anyone who holds arrests, or returns or causes or aids in the arrest or return of a person to peonage. The Supreme Court upheld this act in 1905 and again in 1944.[26]

Some cities, particularly in the South, have enacted zoning ordinances prohibiting Negroes from living in certain areas of town reserved for whites, and vice versa. Advocates argued that Negroes and whites could not live peacefully in the same neighborhood, and that these zoning laws were therefore valid police regulations. In 1917[27] the Court denied that such ordinances significantly promote the public peace and charged that they violate the 14th Amendment's rule against depriving persons of their property unfairly. A property owner who is prohibited from selling or renting his property to all the members of a particular race is deprived some of the value of his property.

Once zoning as a way to restrict certain neighborhoods for exclusive white occupancy had been eliminated, the next avenue of approach for segregationists was the restrictive covenant. This is

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[26] *Clyatt v. U. S.*, 197 U. S. 207 (1905), and *U. S. v. Gaskin*, 320, U. S. 527 (1944).

[27] *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U. S. 60 (1917). See also *Hurd v. Hodge*, 324 U. S. 24 (1948).

a contract among a group of property owners not to sell to persons of a certain race. If one member of the group of owners violates the contract, that member might be sued for damages by the others.

The Supreme Court in 1948 barred such suits.[28] It said these contracts always discriminated against certain groups on account of race or color, and are unconstitutional because they depend on government (the courts) for enforcement. When a state lends its power to discriminate against certain groups, it violates the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment.

The exclusion of citizens from jury duty because of their race was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as early as 1880.[29] In 1935, the Court dealt a blow to these practices by nullifying the trial of a Negro boy convicted of rape by an all white Alabama jury,[30] on grounds that such a jury was not fairly chosen considering the following facts. The population of Morgan County where the trial was held was about 46,000 of which about 8,000 were Negroes. Within the memory of witnesses long resident there, no Negro had ever served on a jury in that county or had ever been called for such service. There was evidence, however, that a number of Negroes were qualified for jury service. Men of intelligence, some of whom were college graduates, testified to long lists of such qualified Negroes including many business men, owners of real estate and householders. The Supreme Court in questioning the exclusion of Negroes from jury duty was again, in the eyes of some people, persecuting the South.

A decision regarding forced confessions was given in 1940. Four young Negroes were sentenced to death in Florida partly on the basis of confessions extracted after "protracted questioning and cross questioning of these ignorant young colored tenant farmers by state officers and other white citizens, in a fourth floor jail room, where as prisoners they were without friends, advisors or councillors and under circumstances calculated to break the strongest nerves and the stoutest resistance." The men guilty of this brutality justified themselves with the venerable white supremacy argument that "Law enforcement methods such as those . . . are necessary to uphold our laws." The Court replied that "this argu-

28 *Shelley v. Kraemer,* 334 U. S. 1 (1948).
29 *Strauder v. West Virginia,* 100 U. S. 303 (1879).
30 *Norris v. Alabama,* 294 U. S. 587 (1935).

ment flouts the basic principle that all people must stand on an equality before the bar of justice in every American Court." The Court reversed the conviction based on these forced confessions, and said, "Due process of law, preserved by our constitution for all, commands that no such practice as that disclosed by this record shall send any accused to his death."[31]

The foregoing discussion has not, of course, exhausted the list of decisions weighing negatively on white supremacy. Some are included in the following paragraphs for technical reasons. Others are not mentioned at all.

It will be shown in the following discussion that the Court has made a number of significant decisions which had the effect of preserving and bolstering white supremacy. Some of these were eventually reversed. Yet the fact that they were delivered in the first place and upheld so long, refutes the notion that the Court has a built-in, historical, anti-Southern bias even though the Court may have done *more* in the long run to destroy white supremacy than to preserve it.

Right to Vote

(a) *White Primary:* In most Southern States today the Democratic Party is so strong that nomination for office by that party is tantamount to election. If the Democratic Party in any of these states denies membership to Negroes, this effectively bars Negroes from the whole election process. Early in this century Texas enacted a law making Negroes ineligible to participate in a Democratic Party primary election.[32] In 1927, the Supreme Court pronounced this law offensive to the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment.[33]

Undaunted, Texas rigged up legislation to get around this decision and enacted a law allowing the Democratic Central Committee to decide who might be a party member. Naturally the Central Committee promptly voted to bar Negroes from the party, but the Supreme Court later said that this law also was a violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment because the state by delegating its power to the Central Committee made that Committee a state agency whose actions are state

[31] *Chambers v. Florida,* 309 U. S. 227 (1940).
[32] In primary elections the members of each political party select candidates to run in the general election.
[33] *Nixon v. Herndon,* 273, U. S. 536 (1927).

actions. (Keep in mind that among other things the 14th Amendment aims to prevent *states* from depriving any citizen of equal protection of the laws. Thus it is important to establish whether any particular action is or is not state action). The Court added, however, that if the party convention rather than the Central Committee had made the rule it would have been valid.[34]

This last proviso left the door half open. Texas Democrats saw the opening, and at their state convention voted to bar Negroes from the party. Thus, white supremacists finally got their way. The decision which left the door half open, may just as well have left it wide open.

The Court's decision asserting the validity of party rules barring Negroes from membership when such rules are adopted by party conventions was further sustained and bolstered by the Court in 1935 in *Grovey v. Townsend*.[35] Negroes in that case charged that any arrangement by which Negroes were barred from participation in primary elections constituted discriminatory action by states in violation of the 14th Amendment because primary elections are so intimately regulated by state law that whatever takes place at a primary is for all practical purposes state action. In other words, the Negroes were saying that while the primary election is designated that of the Democratic Party, the statutes not only require this method of selecting nominees, but define the powers and duties of the party's representatives and of those who are to conduct the election so completely and make them so thoroughly officers of the state that any action taken by them in connection with the qualifications of members of the party is in fact state action and not party action. The code, they said, fixes such things as the date of the primary, the qualifications of candidates, qualifications of voters, sets up an official ballot specifying its form and how it shall be marked, permits use of election equipment provided for general elections, provides for purity of the ballot box, and confers jurisdiction of election contests on district courts.

Unconvinced, the Supreme Court insisted in its *Grovey v. Townsend* decision that the primary is only a party action and not state action. *Grovey v. Townsend* must be rated as a great victory for the cause of white supremacy and for the Southern way of life. However, the victory was not permanent. Constitutional foundations of the white primary began to crumble in 1941 when

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[34] *Nixon v. Condon*, 286 U. S. 73 (1932).
[35] 295 U. S. 45 (1935).

the Court declared that primary elections were a step in the election process which could be regulated by the federal government in some instances,[36] and in 1944 the edifice collapsed with the *Smith v. Allwright*[37] decision which directly overruled *Grovey v. Townsend* and held the 15th Amendment's prohibition against denial of the right to vote on account of race, applied to primaries as well as to general elections.

(b) *Poll Tax and Literacy Test:* The poll tax and literacy test are classic devices for disenfranchising the Negro, whose literacy and ability to pay taxes have always been lower than the white man's primarily because the American Negro has always been economically and educationally discriminated against. A Mississippi Constitution adopted shortly after the Civil War required that to be eligible to vote applicants for registration must be able to read any section of the United States Constitution or be able to understand or give a reasonable interpretation of it. Administrative officers determined whether the applicant measured up. The Mississippi Constitution also provided for the payment of a poll tax prior to voting.

In 1889, the United States Supreme Court, in a decision which has done much for white supremacy and the Southern way of life, upheld these provisions of the Mississippi Constitution.[38] The case arose when Williams, a Negro, was indicted by an all white grand jury for murder, and later convicted. He appealed his case to higher courts asking that the indictment be quashed because Negroes had been unfairly excluded from the grand jury. To be a grand juror one needed first to be an elector. Williams argued that the poll tax and literacy test unfairly discriminated against Negroes, abridging their elective franchise and thereby denying them the right to be selected as grand jurors. The case, therefore, turned on the fairness of the Mississippi registration laws, and on the question whether they violated the 14th Amendment by denying equal protection of the laws to Negroes.

The Mississippi Constitution in question was created by a constitutional convention of 135 members among whom there was only one Negro. The lawmakers refused to submit it to the voters, of whom under prior laws there were 190,000 colored and 69,000 white.

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[36] *U. S. v. Classic*, 313 U. S. 299 (1941).
[37] 321 U. S. 649 (1944).
[38] *Williams v. Mississippi*, 170 U. S. 213 (1898).

A Mississippi court in *Ratcliff v. Beals*[39] had this to say about the convention:

> Within the field of permisable actions under the limitations imposed by the federal constitution, the convention swept the circle of expedients to obstruct the exercise of the franchise by the Negro race.
>
> By reason of its previous condition of servitude and dependence, this race had acquired or accentuated certain peculiarities of habit, of temperment and of character, which clearly distinguished it, as a race, from that of the whites—a patient, docile people, but careless, landless, and migratory within narrow limits, without forethought, and its criminal members given rather to furtive offenses than to the robust crimes of the whites. Restrained by the federal constitution from discriminating against the Negro race, the convention discriminated against its characteristics and the offenses to which its weaker members were prone.

Despite the obvious anti-Negro intent of the Mississippi poll tax and literacy test, the United States Supreme Court saw fit to uphold them saying, "They reach weak and vicious white men as well as weak and vicious black men."

The Court has not yet fully departed from this doctrine, although in 1949 it lifted an eyebrow at it. A lower federal court had nullified as repugnant to the 15th Amendment the Alabama so-called "Boswell Amendment" which required voters to be able to understand and explain the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of local registration officers. The lower court said, "We cannot ignore the impact of the Boswell Amendment upon Negro citizens because it avoids mention of race or color; to do this would be to shut our eyes to what all others can see and understand."[40] This decision was later affirmed by the Supreme Court.[41] Nevertheless, the previous decision upholding a literacy test and poll tax patently designed to prevent Negro voting, stood for a half-century as a pillar in the structure of white supremacy and the Southern way of life.

The imposition of a literacy test as a prerequisite for voting has been an effective device for holding down Negro voting. However the test has proven a difficult hurdle for many illiterate or near illiterate whites. To relieve Southern registration officials from having to make bare-faced discriminations in favor of white applicants, a merciful back road was hewed, along which illiterate whites might be channeled to escape taking the examination. That

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39 74 Miss. 247.
40 *Davis v. Schnell*, 81 F. Supp. 872, 878, 880 (1949).
41 *Schnell v. Davis*, 336 U. S. 933 (1949).

road was the "grandfather clause." It depended on the simple fact that before the Civil War Negroes did not vote. With that in mind, one state of the union made a law saying that voters who voted on or before January 1, 1867, or their descendants, may register without taking the literacy test. This left the colored population standing alone against a literacy test which could be rigorously enforced without seriously effecting the white man. Other states made similar laws.

In 1915 the Court struck down an Oklahoma grandfather clause.[42] In 1939 it did so again under slightly different circumstances.[43]

(c) *Terror:* One of the favorite ways of maintaining white supremacy and the Southern way of life has been terrorization of the Negro. Terror has served chiefly to discourage Negroes from voting. The Ku Klux Klan has been the leading terroristic organization. It began as a social kuklos (circle) by a group of young pranksters in Pulaski, Tennessee, who amused themselves by dressing up in white sheets to frighten superstitious Negroes. Before long the practical value of such activity as a device for frightening Negroes from the polls was realized, and in 1867 the kukloi organized other kukloi and united as the "Invisible Empire of the South." Their activities and techniques broadened, but the cardinal aims remained the destruction of Negro controlled governments, the prevention of Negro voting, and the establishment forever of white supremacy in politics.

The Force Acts of 1870[44] and the Ku Klux Act of 1871[45] were enacted by Congress to restrain lawless activities of the Klan.

In 1875 white supremacists won a signal victory over the Force Acts by the Court's decision in *U. S. v. Cruikshank.*[46] Cruikshank and others were charged with having intimidated two Negroes in order to discourage them from voting. Federal law made it a crime to band and conspire together to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate United States citizens in order to deprive them of their privileges and immunities as citizens of the United States. Cruikshank argued that Congress had no constitutional authority to enact such a law. He pointed out that the 14th Amendment, to which Congress looked for authority, did not prohibit the activity

42 *Guinn v. U. S.*, 238 U. S. 347 (1915).
43 *Lane v. Wilson*, 307 U. S. 268 (1939).
44 16 Stat. at L. 141.
45 Sec. 5519, Revised Statutes.
46 92 U. S. 542 (1875).

of *individuals,* but only of *states.* The court adopted that line of reasoning. While the 14th Amendment prohibits a *state* from depriving any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, this adds nothing, said the Court to the rights of *one citizen as against another.* The Amendment simply furnishes an additional guaranty against any encroachment by the states upon the fundamental rights which belong to every citizen as a member of society.

In 1876, the Force Acts were dealt another blow by the Supreme Court when other sections were struck down in *U. S. v. Reese.*[47] That case developed when two of the inspectors of a municipal election in Kentucky, refused to receive and count the vote of a Negro named William Garner. The inspectors were indicted under Sections 2 and 3 of the Force Act. These sections were enacted under authority of the 15th Amendment which prohibits both State and Federal governments to deny or abridge the right of United States citizens to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The two inspectors maintained that the sections of the Force Act in question were too vague to be valid; that they were couched in such broad and all inclusive terms that they went beyond the 15th Amendment. The Court agreed with this contention, and stated that the 15th Amendment does not aim to prevent *every* wrongful refusal to receive the vote of a qualified elector, but only such refusals as are based solely on race, color or previous condition of servitude. Even if the inspectors did discriminate because of race, said the Court, they cannot be convicted under a law which is so broad that Congress had no authority to pass it. Those sections of the law under which the inspectors were indicted must stand as a whole or fall as a whole. The Court was not willing to reject a part which is unconstitutional and retain the remainder.

If the Court at this time had an anti-Southern bias it was not potent enough to motivate the Court to enforce these sections of the Force Acts.

The Ku Klux Act of 1871 was also hit by the court. One blow was struck in the case of *U. S. v. Harris* in 1883,[48] which developed when four Negroes were arrested in Crockett County, Tennessee, by county officers for the commission of certain criminal offenses. A band of white men including R. G. Harris, presumably members of the Ku Klux Klan, took the law into their own hands and

[47] 92 U. S. 214 (1876).
[48] 106 U. S. 629 (1883).

assaulted the Negroes while they were in custody. Federal authorities then charged Harris and his fellow thugs with violation of the federal anti-Ku Klux Klan law which made it a criminal offense for two or more persons in a state or territory to conspire to deprive any person of equal protection of the laws of the state and provided a fine or imprisonment for those convicted. Harris argued that the 14th Amendment did not give the federal government authority to make such a law. The Court, citing *U. S. v. Cruikshank,* discussed above, agreed with Harris that it is perfectly clear from the language of the 1st section of the 14th Amendment, that its purpose was to place a restraint upon the action on *states.*

The 1903 case of *James v. Bowman*[49] was decided on similar grounds. Bowman was indicted for bribing Negroes in a Kentucky congressional election. Section 7707 of the Revised Statutes made it a crime to bribe for the purpose of controlling or preventing exercise of the right of suffrage of a person to whom that right is guaranteed by the 15th Amendment. The Court refused to enforce the act because it aimed to punish individual deeds rather than acts of the state. These decisions made it easier for terroristic activities against Negroes to proceed. But it would be foolish to think the Court was motivated by sympathy for terror.

Segregation

During the first seventy-nine years of our national history the Supreme Court upheld slavery despite the fundamental conflict between this institution and every idea of freedom inherent in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Then, after the slaves were freed, the Supreme Court upheld official segregation for eighty-six years.

Segregation may be private, semi-official or official. Private segregation is the refusal of individuals to mix socially with Negroes. It will probably never be the subject of litigation. This is not true of other forms of segregation discussed below.

(a) *Semi-official segregation:* Semi-official segregation is the refusal of business firms such as, for example, hotels and barber shops, to do business with Negroes or to employ them on a non-discriminatory basis. This has masqueraded as private segregation, and has not yet been held contrary to the 14th Amendment.

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[49] 190 U. S. 127 (1903).

In 1883, the Court resoundingly denounced as unconstitutional, a federal law which made it a misdemeanor to deny any person equal rights and privileges in inns, theaters, amusement places, and transportation facilities on account of color or previous condition of servitude. The Court concluded that the law in question went out of bounds by attempting to forbid private persons from doing something which only states were forbidden to do under the 14th Amendment. The Amendment does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights. It only provides modes of redress against the operation of state laws, and the action of State officers (executive or judicial) when these are subversive of the fundamental rights specified in the Amendment.[50] The doctrine of that case still holds.

In 1878, the Court declared unconstitutional a state law forbidding segregation on steamboats and other common carriers on the ground that Congress has exclusive authority to make rules affecting interstate commerce on subjects requiring a uniform national rule. States are forbidden to legislate in this area, said the Court; and therefore a state law *forbidding segregation* was held invalid.[51] Meanwhile the Court was accepting State laws *requiring segregation* on the theory that they did not burden interstate commerce.[52]

(b) *Official segregation:* Official segregation is the attempt by government to restrict Negroes to separate facilities, such as parks, buses or parts of buses, waiting rooms, schools, et cetera. Public segregation of this sort was upheld by the Court until 1954;[53] that is, for the better part of a century. In 1896 the Court delivered its decision in the famous case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*[54] upholding official segregation. The case arose when Plessy, one-eighth Negro, took a seat in a car reserved for whites on a train in Louisiana. He was asked by the conductor to go to the colored section. He refused and the police thereupon forcibly ejected him

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50 *Civil Rights Cases,* 109 U. S. 3 (1883).

51 *Hall v. De Cuir,* 95 U. S. 485 (1877).

52 *Louisville N. O. & T. R. Co. v. Mississippi,* 133 U. S. 587 (1890). By 1947 the tables were turned. In *Morgan v. Virginia,* 328 U. S. 373 (1946), the court held a Virginia law requiring segregation on buses invalid insofar as buses in interstate commerce are concerned. The Virginia law was held to be a burden on interstate commerce. In *Bob-Lo Excursion Co. v. Michigan,* 333 U. S. 28 (1947), it was held by the Supreme Court that a Michigan anti-segregation law was not a burden on interstate commerce.

53 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

54 163 U. S. 537 (1896).

from his seat and hurried him off to jail. Segregation on the railway was required by Louisiana law, which Plessy believed was contrary to the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. The Court disagreed with him and delivered a decision providing a classic defense of segregation laws. It said,

> A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races—and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races. . . .
>
> The object of the 14th Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either.
>
> Laws permitting or even requiring their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other.
>
> We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction on it.

The Court held that separate facilities were constitutional so long as facilities for Negroes were *equal* to those for whites. This principle, known as the "separate but equal doctrine," has held firm through a number of comparatively recent cases. For example, in 1948 the Court ordered a Negro admitted to the previously all white Oklahoma law school, *because* that state had not provided a law school for Negroes.[55]

In 1950 the Court ordered the University of Texas law school to admit a Negro; not because the Court had changed its mind about the constitutionality of official segregation, but because Texas had failed to provide a law school for Negroes *equal* to the all white University of Texas law school. Texas had provided an *inferior* one.[56]

In 1950 the Court also upheld the doctrine when it decided that segregation within an integrated school was unconstitutional. Separateness precluded equality in that situation said the Court.[57]

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[55] *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma*, 332 U. S. 631 (1948).

[56] *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U. S. 629 (1950).

[57] *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U. S. 637 (1950). See also *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U. S. 337 (1938) for another interesting example of the separate but equal doctrine at work.

One can see that in its final years, the "separate but equal doctrine" was becoming a little burdensome to segregationists. Segregated states had managed for half a century to get away with providing inferior facilities for Negroes, being more eager to provide separate facilities than to provide equal facilities. But in 1950, the Supreme Court began insisting on honest compliance with the *"equal"* part of the *"separate but equal doctrine."* Many states have not been financially able to provide equal facilities. To do so would frequently be extravagant. Think of the expense a state would incur trying to duplicate its top ranking medical schools for the benefit of a small number of Negroes.

In 1954 the Court found that official segregation in public schools conflicted with the equal protection of the laws clause of the 14th Amendment. Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, said the Court in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka.*[58] "To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may effect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law: for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.
>
> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

Since the Brown Case, the Court has outlawed other forms of official segregation. Today it seems clear that the Court will invalidate any segregation law.

Has the U. S. Supreme Court been historically anti-Southern?

In summary: The Court unswervingly upheld slavery before the Civil War. After the war the Court at various times rendered decisions which (intentionally or unintentionally) favored the cause

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[58] 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

of white supremacy, the Southern way of life and suppression of the Negro race. During the reconstruction period, the sentiments of the Court coincided with the Southern view of the illegality of the military rule provisions of the Reconstruction Acts. Throughout American History the South has been fairly, and in some crucial periods more than fairly, represented on the Court. Only for a brief period after the Civil War were there no Southerners on the Court. Decisions burdensome to the cause of white supremacy and the Southern way of life have been rendered from time to time, but only in comparatively recent years have these outweighed in number and importance decisions tending in the other direction.

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The Mystery of Chicago's Name

The largest city among hundreds bearing American Indian names, Chicago has never had any other, although its name has been spelled in various ways. The river and its swampy surroundings bore the name long before habitation by whites, even when there were no red men living there in village life. Inhabited or not, Chicago was often visited by waterway travellers because through it lay the portage across the divide which separated the basin of the Great Lakes from that of the Mississippi. Indians and *voyageurs* portaging across the marshes transferred their canoes from the south branch of the Chicago River to the Des Plaines.

It is appropriate enough that a place which began its rise to fame as an Indian canoe portage and as a fur trader's route should bear an aboriginal name. What the appellation really means we may never know for certain, since on this point scholars of the present are divided, no less than were the Indians of the past. The pioneer visitors to the site, Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet, failed to mention the name "Chicago" or any of its variants. Marquette on his visits in the 1670's called the Chicago River simply the "river of the portage."[1] His successor, Father Allouez, spoke only of "the river that leads to the Illinois."[2] This suggests the possibility that the name may have been bestowed after 1680. At any rate, the earliest appearance of the name in a written record is in a letter from La Salle to the governor of New France, headed: "Du Portage de Checagou 5 juin 1683."[3]

A meaning of the name was first recorded by Henri Joutel, a survivor of La Salle's disastrous expedition to Texas. Joutel mentioned his arrival in 1688 at the wretched swamp called "Chicagon" on Lake Michigan, where "we found a sort of garlic, not

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1 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1900, LIX, 173.

2 *Ibid.*, LX, 157.

3 Edward G. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, Chicago, 1901, 144. Later La Salle wrote: "The portage de Chicagou is an isthmus of land at forty-one degrees and fifty minutes north latitude to the west of the lake of the Illinois, which is reached by a channel formed by the meeting of many rivulets or rainfalls of the prairie." *Ibid.*, 146. One weird and unlikely story has it that La Salle devised the name of Chicago from the Latin words *circum-ago*, signifying, *ago*, I act, *circum*, all around; E. O. Gale, *Reminiscences of Early Chicago*, Chicago, 1902, 12-13; no source for this fabrication is given.

so strong as ours, and small onions very like ours in taste."[4] About fourteen years later, Antoine de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, founder of Detroit, describing the geography of the region, wrote, "The post at Chicago comes next. The word means Garlic River, because a very large quantity of garlic grows wild there, without cultivation."[5] The presence of a village of Miami Indians on the site was also noted. Earlier, Cadillac had written of "the Illinois of Chicagou," no doubt referring to the Miami residing at the site.[6] Father Jacques Gravier, Jesuit missionary to the Miami at Chicago in the late seventeenth century, wrote the name Chicagwa, Chikagwa, and Chicagoua, but gave no clew to the origin or meaning of the name.[7] Father Pierre François de Charlevoix visited the marshy portage in 1721. Writing of his journey years later, he mentioned that the Miami Indians were formerly settled "on the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, in a place called Chicagou, from the name of a small river, which runs into that lake."[8] La Potherie, in 1753, used the name Chigagon,[9] very similar to Joutel's Chicagon, while George Croghan, an Englishman, wrote the word Chicago in 1765.[10]

Thus for four score years the name had gone from Chicagon to Chicago with slight phonetic variations in the ending of the word. The suffix "ong" (place) is common in central Algonquian place names. Andrew J. Blackbird's Ottawa grammar gives She-gog for skunk and She-gog-ong, also She-kaw-gong, for Chicago, i.e., "skunk place."[11] The Ottawa dialect is closely related to Potawatomi, as it is also to Illinois and Miami. Written in French orthography the final "g" was dropped. Joutel's spelling of the name survives in Chicagon Lake, Iron County, Michigan.

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[4] Henri Joutel, entry for March 29, 1688, in *A Journal of the Last Voyage perform'd by Monsr. de La Sale to the Gulph of Mexico*, London, 1714, 178–179.

[5] Milo M. Quaife, ed., *Memoirs of the Western Country in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago, 1947, 169.

[6] Manuscript cited in W. Vernon Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615–1760*, Ann Arbor, 1940, 241.

[7] *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 53, 55, 65.

[8] *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Chicago, 1923, II, 271.

[9] Emma Helen Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Cleveland, 1912, I, 370.

[10] Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Cleveland, 1904 I, 172. "Croghan's Journal," as published in *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, British Series, Vol. II, *The New Regime, 1765–1767*, has the name spelled Chicago, 49, and Chicags, 55.

[11] *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan, A Grammar of their Language, etc.*, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1887, 108, 126.

Meanwhile the French mapmakers, most of whom did not visit the region, had been busy recording the name. Minet's map of 1685 shows "Checago" as the name of the river,[12] probably the first appearance on a map of the name of this deserted portage, ante-dating Joutel's mention of it by three years. Jean Baptiste Franquelin in 1684 showed a "Cheagoumeman"[13] at the foot of the lake, and in a map of 1688, "Fort Checagou." In the same year Tillman (or Tillemon) charted a "Riv. Chekagou." Delisle in 1718 inscribed "Chicagou" on his map. The name appears variously as the designation for the present Chicago River, for the adjoining Des Plaines, and as the name of the locality.

About 1725 appeared in history the name of an Indian called Checagou (or Chikagou, etc.), apparently the chief of the Michigamea, a branch of the Illlinois confederacy. Checagou, a Christian convert, was considered a man of sufficient importance to merit a trip to Paris for presentation at court.[14] Old Kaskaskia records revealed that the French commandant at Ft. Chartres, M. de St. Ange de Belle Rive, in 1729 purchased a tract of land "from a savage named Chicago."[15] From these circumstances, and the fact of the existence of two other Illinois Indians with remotely similar names, it has been assumd by some writers that Chicago must have been named either for the great chief or one of the others.

Mrs. John Kinzie, daughter-in-law of the John Kinzie who settled at Chicago in 1803, writing in *Wau-Bun* more than a century after chief Checagou's death, mentioned that "the place received its name from an old chief who was drowned in the stream in former times."[16] However, there is no record that *the* Checagou died in

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12 All maps mentioned here, except the Tillman map, are published in an unbound folio, and edited by Sarah Jones Tucker, under title of *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Vol. II, Scientific Papers, Illinois State Museum, Part I, Atlas. Springfield: State of Illinois, 1942. The Tillman map is published in "Early Maps of Michigan and the Great Lakes Region," in *Michigan History Magazine,* XXVII, (Winter, 1943).

13 From this spelling of the name of Franquelin's first map, Dr. Edward Taube of Racine, Wis., built his contention that *Chicago* stems from an Algonquin word for "cracked corn makers." *Chicago Tribune,* December 29, 1955. I can find no support for this theory. Franquelin, who never visited Chicago, corrected his error on his next map. His earlier spelling is approximated today in the names of Chequamegon National Forest, (Wis.), Chequamegon Bay and Chequamegon Point on Lake Superior. I have also seen it spelled Chegoimegon. Franquelin may have confused some upper lakes locality with Chicago.

14 *Jesuit Relations,* LXVII, 295; LXVIII, 203, 205, 329.

15 Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History,* 329.

16 *Wau-Bun,* ed. by Milo M. Quaife, Chicago, 1932, 219.

this manner. In 1925 Joseph J. Thompson leaned partly on these few straws to brace his theory that the midwest metropolis was named for a chief of this name.[17]

However, the theory has serious drawbacks. The Illinois did not live at the site of Chicago in historic times, and certainly the Michigamea did not. In fact, Charlevoix wrote in 1721: "Lake Michigan has but few inhabitants on its banks; I do not even know if ever any nation was fixed there, and it is without foundation, that it has been called in some maps the lake of the Illinois."[18] Checagou's band, it is believed, once lived as far south as northeast Arkansas and southeast Missouri.[19] The earliest known village at Chicago, aside from temporary hunting camps, was that of the Miami, who resided here for a time after 1695, being later replaced by the Potawatomi.

Those who would like to believe that Chicago was named for chief Checagou, or any other Indian of similar name,[20] overlook the important fact that Indians did not name places after individuals. Indian place names were invariably descriptive of the places to which they applied, or, in some instances, commemorative of a particular event. Indians were sometimes named after places where they were born, or where they lived, but the reverse was never true. All geographical names, with one important state excepted,[21] which honor the names of particular Indians, were so designated by the whites.[22] This rule is so universal that the old chief Checagou must be cast out of the picture, for we know that the site of our city was named by the Indians, and that consequently its name must refer to some natural feature or historic or legendary incident. To clinch the case, the great Checagou, who died in

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[17] Joseph J. Thompson, "Chicagou—the Grand Chief of the Illinois, Protonym of the Western Metropolis," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, VII, (1924–25), 332–337.

[18] Charlevoix, *Journal*, I, 268.

[19] Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, I, 856.

[20] In addition to Checagou and two others named by Thompson, one could mention the Potawatomi Indian Chi-cag, who was awarded forty dollars for a stolen horse in the Treaty of Tippecanoe, Oct. 20, 1832, and Chekagua, a Missouri Sauk who signed a Treaty at Portage des Sioux, Sept. 13, 1815. *Infra.*

[21] Oklahoma, settled by the five civilized tribes who had adopted many white customs, exhibits several personal place names bestowed by these tribes to honor outstanding persons among them.

[22] Those who question this statement, and would like to pursue the matter further, are referred especially to J. Hammond Trumbull, "The Composition of Indian Geographical Names," *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, Hartford, 1870, II, 3–50.

1754, was probably not yet born when Chicago was named, for the name was applied to the site by La Salle as early as 1683.

Thompson mentioned an Illinois "chief" named Chachagwessiou, who accompanied Marquette and Jolliet on their second trip to the Illinois country in 1674,[23] as a possible source of the name. The Jolliet, Marquette, and Thevenot maps of the region for that period show no such name in the Chicago area. Moreover, the name is too dissimilar to be considered. J. Hammond Trumbull has warned us that in Indian words, no consonant or vowel "could be dropped or transposed, nor could one be added, without change of meaning.[24] For these reasons, and because he lived too late, we must reject the temptation to find Chicago's protonym in Pappape Chagouhias, successor to chief Checagou,[25] or in the name of any other Indian.

Both La Salle and De Soto claimed to have found the word Chucagoa, or variants, used by southern Indians, apparently Chicasaw, to describe certain rivers, including possibly the Ohio and the Alabama. From this circumstance some have thought the word meant "great river." However, the Indian linguist Jacob Piatt Dunn found no such word for these phenomena in the Muskhogean dialects of the southern Indians.[26] For example the Choctaw[27] *Chit,* "big" and *hatchee,* "river," are similar to the Creek, *Chattahoochee,* name of the river forming the border between Georgia and Alabama. The Southern languages, moreover, were completely different from the Algonquin linguistic stock from which the name of our city most certainly comes, and consequently, the words for "great" and "river" are quite distinct from the above. All the tribes of the Chicago region, aside from the somewhat distant Winnebago, spoke Algonquian tongues.

The late William Jones, a Harvard educated Fox Indian, gave the explanation for Chicago's name which was accepted by the Bureau of American Ethnology in the *Handbook of American Indians.*[28] Jones declared he had been told by an elderly member

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[23] He was described by Marquette as "an Illinois greatly esteemed among his nation." *Jesuit Relations,* LXV, 167.

[24] *Loc. cit.,* 37.

[25] Concerning the elder Checagou, Mrs. Kinzie's editor, Milo M. Quaife, declared, "There is no reason for supposing any connection between him and the place name of the modern city." *Wau-Bun,* 219, note.

[26] "Names of the Ohio River," *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History,* VIII (1912), 167–168.

[27] Cyrus Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language,* Bulletin 46, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1915.

[28] Ed. by Frederick Webb Hodge, I, 259.

of his tribe a legend that a party of Fox Indians hunting on the shore of the big lake beheld a huge monster approaching from the water. The hunters hid until the strange thing, which appeared to be an enormous skunk, came ashore, whereupon they killed it. "Ever after that time the lake south of the course along which the skunk came swimming was known as *Shegageogi,* the place or region of the skunk," wrote John F. Steward, who first published this version.[29]

It is certain that the words for skunk and onion or garlic are virtually the same in the various Algonquian dialects, and Jones believed that the more commonly accepted story that Chicago means wild onion place, arose from confusion over this similarity of the two terms. Jones' story must be viewed with a jaundiced eye, however, because the Mesquakie (Fox) tribe had no permanent residence at Chicago as far as we know. In the period when Chicago's name was first recorded, they were living in the neighborhood of Green Bay, Wisconsin. La Salle once found a Fox hunting party along the shore of Lake Michigan, believed by some to be at Chicago, although La Salle did not identify the spot beyond dispute. It is difficult to believe that a legend told by a party of wandering Fox Indian hunters could have fixed a name so firmly on a place that it could have been accepted by several other tribes, which were, moreover, somewhat hostile to the Fox.

Mrs. Kinzie, in relating the drowning story above, granted that there was some discussion over the name Chicago, "some of the Indians deriving it from the fitch or polecat, others from the wild onion with which the woods formerly abounded." Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a contemporary of Mrs. Kinzie, and one of the earliest scientific students of Indian languages and culture, was a visitor to Chicago in 1820. His view was that the name of our garden city was derived from *Chicagowunzh,* the wild onion or leek, in the dialect of the Ojibway (Chippewa) and in French orthography. However, he also observed that *She-kaug* meant polecat, indicating that the Indians found something in common between the plant and the animal, no doubt the odor: "Whether the onion was named before or after the animal, must be judged if the age of the deri-

[29] "Chicago–Origin of the Name or the City," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* (1904), 460–466. Jones rendered "skunk" in the Fox language as *cégāgwa*. *American Authropologist,* new series, VI, 384. Fox is not as closely related to Potawatomi or Miami–Illinois as are Ottawa–Chippewa.

vation is sought for."[30] Whatever weight one gives to these assumptions, it is not likely that our city name came from the Chippewa tribe, with which Schoolcraft was most familiar owing to the fact that he was for twenty years an agent to that tribe, and married to one of its members.

William Keating, who visited Chicago three years after Schoolcraft, said that "its name, derived from the Potawatomi language, signifies either a skunk, or wild onion; and each of these significations has been occasionally given for it."[31] We know, however, that Chicago was named before the arrival of the Potawatomi, in the period when the Miami were beginning to occupy the area.

John Reynolds, an early governor of Illinois (1830-1834), related in his *Pioneer History* that the name of Chicago meant "Land of onions" or "wild onion field."[32] Danville's lawyer-historian of the 1800's, Hiram Beckwith, declared that Chicago was named for the river,[33] "the name of the stream signifying a skunk in its primary, and a wild onion in its secondary sense."[34]

A bewildering array of possible origins of the name Chicago was presented by Elijah Haines, Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives in the 1880's, and an Indian student by avocation. Among others already reviewed, he threw in the Ojibway words *get-che-ka-go,* "something great," and *che-kah-go,* "to avoid, or forbear." In Potawatomi, he asserted, *choe-ca-go* meant "destitute" or "got none." He mentioned a Sauk chief named Che-ca-gua, meaning "he that stands by the tree" in that dialect. In the Miami dialect, he added, *se-kaw-kwaw* meant a skunk. Another possible signification he conjured up was "without trees," an apt description of the locality, which would be rendered in Potawatomi, according to Haines, as *Tuc-choc-ca-go* and in Ojibway as *Mit-tick-ga-go.*[35]

The only trouble with most of these guesses is that there is not a shred of historical evidence to support the presumption that

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30 Schoolcraft, *The American Indians, Their History, Condition and Prospects,* (one vol. ed., rev.), Rochester, 1851, 305.

31 Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River,* London, 1825, I, 166.

32 Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois,* 2nd ed. Chicago, 1887, 417.

33 Recall that this is what Charlevoix said. Moreover, a private treaty made with the Illinois Indians by the trader William Murray in 1773 refers to "Chicagou or Garlick creek." Grant Foreman, *Last Trek of the Indians,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, 21.

34 Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* Chicago, 1884, 175.

35 Elijah M. Haines, *The American Indian.* Chicago, 1888, Chapter LVI. Compare his "choecago, got none" with Blackbird's "kaw-ga-go, none," in *History of the Ottawa.*

Chicago was named for any of them. Haines studied some vocabularies, but neglected to look into the records. It is moreover risky to accept a name derived from tribes which did not live here when the name first became known. This makes as much sense as the attempt which I have seen in print, to derive the name of Wabash (Miami, "white,") from that of the Sioux chief Wabasha or Wapasha, ("red leaf," in *that* language), who lived in Minnesota in the nineteenth century. The Sauk chief mentioned by Haines is described in a treaty he signed at Portage des Sioux, Missouri, September 13, 1815, as a member of the Missouri band of Sauks. His name was spelled *Chekagua* by the clerk, who translated it, probably in error, as "he that stands by the tree."[36]

Stephen G. Boyd in 1885 looked over the confusion and said Chicago was named because it stood where "wild onions once held undisputed sway."[37] Henry Gannett, a geologist, attached his name to a United States Government published book notable for its errors,[38] which accepted the explanation that Chicago "signifies 'wild onion place' from a root form implying a 'bad smell.' "[39]

The ablest student of the Miami language, the late Jacob Piatt Dunn of Indianapolis, declared in 1909 that the controversy about Chicago's etymology boiled down to two definitions, "place of the skunk," and "place of wild onions." He saw that the division of opinion arose from the fact that the same stem entered into both words, and concluded that the "place of wild onions" was certainly correct, "as it is given by the earliest French chroniclers—Joutel and Lamothe Cadillac—and the Chicago River was known as 'Garlick creek' during the early French period."[40] Since Dunn was an exact and careful student, and because he had also the rare good sense to base his conclusions on early original sources, his opinion must be given great weight.

However, we still must contend with Milo Milton Quaife, a foremost historian of the old Northwest Territory. As author of

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[36] Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties.* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904. II, 12.

[37] *Indian Local Names.* York, Pa., 1885, 8.

[38] The appraisal is that of George R. Stewart, author of *Names on the Land,* New York, 1945. He is correct, but the same can be said for all too many other works in this field.

[39] Gannett, *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States,* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905 (rev.), 79.

[40] Dunn, *True Indian Stories, With Glossary of Indiana Indian Names,* Indianapolis, 1909, 258–259.

Checagou, a history of the early days of the big city, and editor of the Memoirs of Cadillac and Mrs. Kinzie, his views are relevant. In brief, Quaife contends that Chicago means "something great and powerful." He alone comes up with a concession to the city's civic pride, backed with the name of a heavyweight scholar.[41] However, candor requires us to swallow our local patriotism and ponder what was great and powerful in this marshy swamp, with its sluggish little "garlick creek," when Joutel described Chicago in 1688. Conclusion: nothing, probably, but the odor.

Father Hennepin indeed pointed out (1698) that La Salle's Fort Crevecoeur at Lake Peoria was also called "Chekagou" by the local Indians of the Illinois tribe.[42] From this circumstance, plus the "strong" odor of polecats and onions, and the alleged use of a similar term by southern Indians (who spoke a different language) to describe big rivers, Quaife arrived at his unique explanation of our city's name. All of these things, he found, had in common the quality of greatness and strength.

By these devices, one could arrive at any conclusions he chooses. One could say that since a battleship, a Patton tank, and a skyscraper are great and powerful, that the words are inter-changeable, or that one word could stand for all three. Or, since the Germans have *alm* for a pasture on the mountainside, and the Spanish have *alma* for a spirit, and the English have *alms* for charitable gifts, we can conclude that alm, alma, or alms means "something elevated."

There is insufficient reason to suppose that Chekagou as applied to Fort Crevecoeur meant strength. There may have been a bad odor about the place, arising either from the bad sanitation of the French, or, more likely, from decaying vegetation in Lake Peoria.[43]

Quaife concedes that Joutel provides the earliest and therefore

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41 Quaife, *Checagou, 1673–1835.* Chicago, 1933, 17–20. Quaife's view was adopted by Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* New York: Knopf, 1937, I, 404, note. It is also the only etymology for Chicago mentioned in the street name file of the City of Chicago Bureau of Maps and Plats. Haines also mentioned this definition as a possibility, but did not endorse it.

42 Hennepin, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America.* Chicago, 1903.

43 Henry R. Schoolcraft wrote in his journal, August 9, 1821, that the Illinois River near Peoria was covered "with a scum or froth of the most intense green color, and emitting a nauseous exhalation, that was almost insupportable." In Quaife, ed., *Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago,* Chicago, 1918, 91. This may indicate why the Indians called that place Chekagou.

the most authoritative explanation of Chicago's meaning,[44] but contends that "the broader meaning of the name is conveyed by the word 'great' or 'powerful.'" "Chicagoans at least" he continued, "will feel no disposition to deny that this expresses the character of the modern city." With all gratitude for this ointment, such a definition does not express the character of the marsh Chicago was when the name was given. Even today, the more odoriferous definition is most fitting when a strong wind is blowing from the stock yards.

It is true of course that Indian vocabularies were limited and that one word sometimes served several purposes, even as in our more extensive modern languages. However, the Algonquins had a word for "great" or "powerful" which could never be confused with their term for the ill-smelling skunk or onion. This word in various dialects and paleface renditions, was mitchi, kitchee, gitche, mishi, mischi, missi, et cetera. These aboriginal terms, in pure or corrupted form, abound in literature and on our maps: *Gitche Gumee,* Lake Superior, "great lake," which in its variant form *Michigan,* has been applied to another lake and a state;[45] *Gitche Manitou,* "great spirit," and *Mishe-Mokwa,* "great bear," are forms from Longfellow's Hiawatha, based on the researches of Henry R. Schoolcraft; best known are *Mississippi,* "great river," and *Michilimackinac,* "great turtle."[46]

Another effort to unravel the mystery was made by anthropologist William Duncan Strong, of the Field Museum of Chicago.[47] He writes of Menominee and Ojibway skunk legends in connection with the site, but adds that in 1923 "a well informed Potawatomi, 'White Pigeon', seventy years of age, stated that the word 'Chicago' was derived from a Potawatomi word which referred to the 'place of the wild onion,' which grew so plentifully in the swamps in and around Chicago." Despite this, Strong says, "one is tempted to attribute the name to the Illinois who seem to have been the first historic people to live near the site." But the nearest Illinois village in historic times was about 100 miles

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[44] While Joutel mentions the garlic growing at Chicago, I have been unable to find any place in his account where he definitely links this with the name, although the presumption is there.

[45] Ivan H. Walton, "Origin of Names of the Great Lakes," *Names Magazine,* III (December, 1955), 239 ff.

[46] Father Julien Binneteau, January, 1699, in *Jesuit Relations,* LXV, 71; Charlevoix, *Journal* II, 43.

[47] *Indian Tribes of the Chicago Region.* Chicago Field Museum, 1938, 38.

away, and it is remarkable that Marquette and Jolliet, who visited the Illinois at Starved Rock, failed to use the word "Chicago" to apply to this portage site.

Surfeited with the plethora of explanations for Chicago, the late Harley Bradford Mitchell, journalist of suburban Lyons, sought to bring order into this confusion by asserting in 1928:

> Chicago means strong; it means polecat; it means onion; it means a man standing by a tree; it means a place where there are no trees to stand by. You can take your choice without paying your money. . . . It seems likely that Chicago meant one thing to the Miamis, another to the Pottawattomies and still other things to the other Indians, all because the traditional name sounded like some word in each several tongue.[48]

Unfortunately, however, we must take issue with Mr. Mitchell. The difference in dialect between the Algonquin tribes of this region was not very great, and for the Miami and Illinois it was indistinguishable. Latter day white writers are the source of the babel of definitions cited by Mr. Mitchell.

It is noteworthy that the first writers to use the name Chicago were those who had been in contact with the Miami, and that the name came into general use at the time the Miami settled here. In 1695, Cadillac mentioned a visit to Mackinac by "the Illinois of Chicagou."[49] These were undoubtedly the Miami, often called Illinois because of ther close relationship and supposed former connection with that tribe. By 1695 the Miami were settled at Chicago and Father Jacques Gravier wrote in 1697 that the mission of "L'Ange gardien of the Miamis, at Chicagwa," had been confided to his charge by the Monseigneur of Quebec.[50] La Salle, first to use the name Chicago, was also probably the first of the French explorers to come in contact with the Miamis, and his faithful lieutenant, Joutel, was also acquainted with them.

We have seen that the early French writers who spoke of the origin of this name always identified it with wild onion, leek, or garlic, that the Potawatomi who settled here after the Miami, and the early English and/or American visitors associated the name either with these plants or with the skunk. Between these explanations, the overwhelming weight of evidence seems to indicate that

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[48] *Historical Fragments of Early Chicagoland.* Chicago, privately printed, 1928, 76–77.

[49] See footnote 10.

[50] *Jesuit Relations,* LXV, 53.

Chicago was named for the onions which grew there, and that the name came from the Miamis. Chicago is, or was, literally, an onion patch. Since Cook County remains today the nation's leading onion-set producers, the name has not yet lost its relevance.[51]

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[51] Carl Sandburg, it may be noted, took no side in the dispute in his poem "The Windy City," in *Smoke and Steel and Slabs of the Sunburnt West*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922, 3:

"Early the red men gave a name to a river,
the place of the skunk
the river of the wild onion smell.
Shee-caw-go."

The Gaucho: Some Impressions by Early Nineteenth Century English Travelers

Upon the successful completion of the Wars of Independence in South America, countless Englishmen flocked to the regions of the River Plate. Manufacturer's representatives, soldiers, miners, engineers, diplomats, scientists—all were attracted to that strange new country in search of riches and adventure. Fortunately for us, many of those Englishmen went equipped with notebooks in which they jotted down their vivid impressions of new places and new people. Of great interest to the majority of English travelers were those remarkable dwellers of the Argentine pampas called "gauchos." These people were not complete strangers in English annals even before the unsuccessful invasion of Buenos Aires, in 1806 and 1807, when the British had had ample opportunity to observe their fierce fighting qualities.

Although the ancestry of the gaucho is disputed, he was essentially a class, not a race. To the word "gaucho" has been attributed a variety of etymological sources, but the most plausible theory is, perhaps, that it was originally derived from the Quechuan word "haucho," meaning orphan.[1] An interesting and diverting speculation is the one advanced by the English traveler Emeric Essex Vidal, who writes: "All countrymen are called by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres *gauchos,* a term no doubt, derived from the same root as our English words "gawk" and "gawkey," adopted to express the awkward, uncouth manners and appearances of those rustics."[2] The bulk of the English travelers during the early part of the nineteenth century used gaucho generically to refer to the people whom they met living on the pampas. The derogatory significance with which this word was employed later is not known by the great majority of these travelers. Only in William MacCann

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[1] Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *Muerte y transfiguración de Martín Fierro,* Mexico–Buenos Aires, 1948, I, 237; 241–242.

Madeline Willis Nichols, *The Gaucho: Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance,* Duke University Press, Durham, 1942, brought together the vast amount of sources and writings on the gauchos, and since her time much has been added.

[2] Emeric Essex Vidal, *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video,* London, 1820, 89.

(1853) does one read: "The term Gaucho is one offensive to the mass of the people, being understood to mean a person who has no local habitation, but lives a nomadic life; therefore, in speaking of the poorer classes I avoid that term."[3]

As a class, the gaucho generally failed to give the Englishman a very favorable impression. Comparing him with the peasantry of his own beloved England, one traveler thought the gaucho "little better than a species of carnivorous baboon."[4] Another writes: "The inhabitants of this part of the country are an uncouth barbarous race, and have forbidding countenances."[5] Perhaps it is not too surprising to find some correlation between the financial success in South America of some travelers, and their judgment of the people and conditions they encountered there. John Miers, for example, a metallurgical engineer who lost a great sum of money in an unsuccessful copper-refining enterprise, seldom has anything good to say about any of the people he met on the pampas. He found the gaucho a typical example of his idea of all people of South America: "... to confer favour is to purchase an enemy. They are governed by no moral feelings, but submit to a haughty, overbearing tyranny, no matter by whom practiced."[6] Complaining of the dishonesty of the gauchos whom he encountered at the various post-houses, Miers continues:

> ... these people think of none but themselves, nor of anything beyond the single object they aim at, and are consequently totally devoid of gratitude. What little use they make of the intellect they possess is by lies, and low cunning, to cheat you.[7]

On the other hand, Charles Darwin, the world famous naturalist, who had occasion to travel on the pampas in 1833, found the gaucho "invariably most obliging, polite, and hospitable:"[8] while Francis Bond Head, writer of one of the most popular travel books on Argentina, states that "the character of the Gaucho is often very estimable; he is always hospitable—at his hut the traveller is sure to find a welcome."[9]

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[3] William MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride through the Argentine Provinces*, London, 1853, I, 154.

[4] Edmond Temple, *Travels in Various Parts of Peru Including a Year's Residence in Potosi*, London, 1830, I, 75.

[5] Robert Proctor, *Narrative of a Journey across the Cordillera of the Andes ... in the Years 1823–1824*, London, 1825, 14.

[6] John Miers, *Travels in Chile and La Plate*, London, 1826, I, 39.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 30.

[8] Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches* (new ed.), London, 1890, 165.

[9] Francis Bond Head, *Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes* (4th ed.), London, 1846, 12.

When the traveler approached a gaucho hut on the pampas, he was likely to find the women of the house sitting in front of their huts, either idly smoking a paper cigar, or busily engaged in picking the vermin out of each other's hair. Concerning this last revolting practice, one traveler writes: "... they will sit the whole day basking in the sun, or enjoying their favourite amusement, to which the women are particularly partial, that of picking the vermin out of each other's hair."[10]

The pampas women, unlike those of Buenos Aires, had few charms with which to arouse the admiration of the traveler. Usually they were filthy and ill-kempt. Charles Brand found them "so disgustingly dirty, that it is dangerous to go near them."[11] Another traveler, J. A. Beaumont, observed the pampas women to be "sadly deficient in female charms," wearing neither "hats, caps, stays, shoes, or stockings."[12] Samuel Haigh thought the women's clothes far from stylish:

> The Gaucho women dress in chemises of course cotton, petticoats of baize, or blue cloth, their arms and neck are left bare; when they ride out, they wear scarfs, or shawls, made of baize of a brilliant colour, and men's hat's either straw or woollen.[13]

The women were generally much more good-humored and friendly than the men. When given gifts, they showed more gratitude than the males. Head discloses that, married or not, they all seemed to have families. "Upon inquiring of a young woman employed in nursing a very pretty child, who was the father of the 'criatura,' she replied, 'Quien sabe?' "[14]

The male species of these interesting creatures of the pampas were considered—by one traveler at least—as a "remarkably fine, handsome race of men, with expressive, intelligent countenances."[15] They were fighters, and loved their liberty. "Living as free and independent as the wind," continues the same traveler, "they cannot and will not acknowledge superiority in any fellow-mortal."[16] Their dress was very picturesque, and they presented a much more attractive picture than did their women.

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10 Miers, *Travels*, I, 32.
11 Charles Brand, *Journal of a Voyage to Peru*, London, 1928, 63.
12 J. A. B. Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres and the Adjacent Provinces of the Río de la Plata*, London, 1828, 65.
13 Samuel Haigh, *Sketches of Buenos Ayres, Chili and Peru*, London, 1831, 57–58.
14 Head, *Rough Notes*, 12.
15 Brand, *Journal*, 73.
16 *Ibid.*, 74.

They wear very wide white lined drawers called "canzoncillas," [*sic*] handsomely ornamented from the knee downwards with open work, and sometimes having a fringe of silk falling over the feet. A "chiripa," a poncho of some bright colour, is fastened round the waist, and drawn up loosely between the legs, forming a sort of large baggy trousers, and a short jacket, and a broad leathern belt with pockets in it, complete the costume. The belt, which is called a "tirador," is fastened behind with four or more pillared dollars, and in this is stuck a long knife, often sheathed and hafted with silver. Their boots which are open at the toes, are white, and made with great care from the skin of a horse's hind leg. . . . The hat is a narrow-brimmed Panama straw, enriched by a red ribbon, and they wear large silver or iron spurs.[17]

A very important part of the gaucho's dress was his poncho. This garment, which was made of wool by the women, was about six feet long, and four feet broad, with a slit in the center just large enough to admit the head. It hung in folds, in front and in back, nearly as low as the knees, and somewhat below the elbows at the sides. It was well-adapted for use on horseback, and served to keep off the wind and the rain. The poncho, originally an Indian garment, was generally made in brilliant colors. Sometimes it was worn slung across the shoulders, and sometimes as a belt. At night it always served as a blanket.

The gaucho was indeed a colorful, picturesque figure, but the Beau Brummell of them all was the Gaucho Dandy described by Joseph Andrews:

He was dressed in the pink of the mode in his own part of the world; he wore a handsome white figured *Poncho,* something in appearance like a fine Indian shawl. Beneath it hung the lower extremities of a pair of white trousers with open lace work round the buttons, in the way of trimming; a falling fringe, about two inches deep, fancifully knotted to answer that which depended from the poncho, encircled his ancles [*sic*]. His sandals, formed of colt's skin . . . and delicately white, enclosed the smallest foot I ever beheld belonging to a man of six feet high. On his heels were affixed a pair of ponderous richly chased silver spurs, which must have weighed a pound each. A scarlet worked scapular hung from his neck; which with his throat was bare, and supported the handsomest head I ever beheld, while upon its crown was stuck a hat so small, it would hardly have fitted a child of three years of age. The hat had a brim an inch wide. A ribbon was destined to keep his hat in its place when riding, and to fasten under the chin. . . . His hair was cut short excepting near the ears where it hung in ringlets entangled with a pair of gold earrings. His mode of puffing a cigar to display a tawdry Birmingham ring, could not

17 Robert Elwes, *A Sketcher's Tour Round the World,* London, 1854, 108.

be surpassed by an unfledged Exquisite, qualifying for the guards, or a St. James's beau of the first water.[18]

The gaucho and his horse were almost inseparable. Virtually everything he did was performed on horseback—his work, his amusements—all were dependent on the horse. Off the horse, the gaucho seemed an entirely different being. Unwilling to walk even the shortest distance, he seemed in a torpid state. But on his horse, he was capable of exerting boundless energy, and, when necessary, he became almost indefatigable.[19] So universal was the horse that every man, woman, and child in the country rode. "One might fancy oneself in the land of centaurs," muses one traveler, "amidst a population half men and half horses."[20] Commenting on the gaucho's great affinity for the horse, Vidal writes:

They have a great antipathy to all occupations which they cannot follow on horseback. They scarcely know how to walk, and will not if they can help it, though it were only across the street. When they meet at the *pulperia*, or anywhere else, they remain on horseback, though the conversation may last several hours. It is on horseback also that they go fishing, riding into the water to throw and draw the net. To raise water from a well, they fasten the rope to their horse, and make him draw up, without setting their own feet on the ground. If they want some mortar, were it even no more than a hatful, they make their horses tread and work it up, without alighting themselves. In short, whatever they do, is done on horseback.[21]

Despite his great dependence on this useful animal, the gaucho displayed absolutely no affection towards it. Indeed, his extreme cruelty to this beast shocked every English traveler in that part of South America. Because of the very large number of horses in Argentina, they were considered to be truly "expendable." Parish observes:

Unlike the Arab or Cossack, the gaucho seems to have no kind of feeling whatever for his horse: the intrinsic value of the animal being of no importance, if he drops on the way his rider cares not; he lassoes and mounts another beast, and abandons the exhausted one to the condors and vultures.[22]

Particularly shocked at the insensibility of the gauchos toward the suffering of their mounts was Charles Darwin:

One day, riding in the Pampas with a very respectable "Estanciero," my horse being tired lagged behind. The men often shouted to me to spur

[18] Joseph Andrews, *Journey from Buenos Ayres ... in the Years 1825–1826*, London, 1827, I, 121–122.
[19] Peter Schmidtmeyer, *Travels into Chile*, London, 1824, 139.
[20] Woodbine Parish, *Buenos Ayres, and Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*, London, 1852, 122.
[21] Vidal, *Picturesque Illustrations*, 80.
[22] Parish, *Buenos Ayres*, 324.

him. When I remonstrated that it was a pity, for the horse was quite exhausted, he cried out, "Why not?—never mind—spur him—it is my horse." I had then some difficulty in making him comprehend that it was for the horse's sake, and not on his account, that I did not choose to use my spurs. He exclaimed, with a look of great surprise, "Ah, Don Carlos, qué cosa!" It was clear that such an idea had never before entered his head.[23]

Schmidtmeyer attributed this extreme cruelty to animals to the absence of feelings rather than to the working of passions and the desire to give vent to their inward anger. He writes:

They will goad, spur, and lash a beast as long as it can go, and if it should become disabled, they will let it die slowly on the road, but I never saw them lose their temper with it. . . . Strong passions would excite bursts of affection as well as of anger; but a caress bestowed on child, horse or dog, is what I never saw in South America.[24]

The gaucho population of the pampas was relatively small, and was scattered over a wide area. Frequently, a whole day's journey would separate one family from another. The home life of one gaucho was practically identical to that of his neighbor. He and his family occupied a small hut or *rancho,* made in the crudest manner, of sticks and mud. A typical one is that described by Haigh:

His hut is small and square, with a few posts for uprights, and wattled with osier twings, plastered over with mud, and sometimes merely protected by hides. The roof is thatched with straw and reeds, open in the centre, to permit the smoke to escape.[25]

The hut generally consisted of one room in which all the family lived in promiscuous confusion. The furnishings were a few blocks of wood or the skulls of horses to serve for seats, and a small table, about eighteen inches high to play cards upon. The bed, if there was one, consisted of two or three hides stretched on four posts driven into the ground, but in general they slept upon hides or sheepskins spread over the bare ground. The only ornaments to be seen were perhaps a crucifix or an image of St. Anthony, patron of travelers, hanging on the wall.[26]

In the summer time, this hut was so filled with fleas and *benchucas* (enormous bugs as large as beetles) that the whole family slept on the ground in front of the dwelling. In the winter, how-

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[23] Darwin, *Journal,* 161–162.
[24] Schmidtmeyer, *Travels,* 114–115.
[25] Haigh, *Sketches,* 56.
[26] *Ibid.,* 57.

ever, or when it was raining, they were forced to stay indoors. During these occasions, writes one disgusted traveler,

> the family and visitors, dogs, pigs, and poultry, are all assembled in the hut, in one promiscuous *mélange;* and as the smoke from the damp fuel fills half the hut, the forms appear, through the gloom of such an atmosphere, to resemble the shadowy ghosts of Ossian.[27]

The cooking was done in a detached shed a few yards from the house. The cooking utensils were usually of clay, the platters of wood. Sometimes, a large silver dish, black with tarnish, was to be found in one of these miserable hovels. In addition, there were some wooden or iron spits for roasting meat, and a small copper pot to boil water for the *mate.*[28] The diet of the gauchos consisted principally of beef, roasted on a spit over an open fire, and perhaps a few gourds. They never ate vegetables or salad, which they considered fit only for cattle. On special occasions the gaucho family might celebrate with *carne con cuero.* This was an *asado,* made by roasting sections of meat while still in the hide, so as to preserve all the natural juices of the meat. This dish met with the great enthusiasm of every British traveler. Darwin was especially pleased, exclaiming: "If any worthy alderman had supped with us that exening, 'carne con cuero,' without doubt would soon have been celebrated in London."[29]

The gaucho family, according to some travelers, seldom exceeded three children. Alexander Caldcleugh attributed this to the drudgery in the lives of the women, and to their custom of nursing their children until the age of three or four years.[30] As the traveler approached a native hut, he was startled to see the little gauchos, even those of only three or four, literally climb up the tails of the patient horses, which they were otherwise unable to mount, and then put the horses to gallop, while their father's stirrups dangled below their little naked feet.[31] Of these remarkable, precocious children, Head writes:

> Born in the rude hut, the infant gaucho receives little attention, but is left to swing from the roof in a bullock's hide, the corners of which are drawn towards each other by four strips of hide. In the first year of his life he crawls about without clothes, and I have more than once seen a

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27 *Ibid.*
28 *Ibid.*, 58.
29 Darwin, *Journal,* 200.
30 Alexander Caldcleugh, *Travels in South America, During the Years 1819–1820–1821,* London, 1825, I, 251.
31 Head, *Rough Notes,* 134.

mother give a child of this age a sharp knife, a foot long, to play with as soon as he walks, his infantine amusements are those which prepare him for the occupations of his future life: with a lasso made of twine he tries to catch little birds, or the dogs, as they walk in and out of the hut. By the time he is four years old he is on horseback, and immediately becomes useful by assisting to drive the cattle into the corrál. The manner in which these children ride is quite extraordinary: if a horse tries to escape from the flock which are driven towards the corrál, I have frequently seen a child pursue him, overtake him, and then bring him back, flogging him the whole way. . . .[32]

The gauchos had few home amusements to help them while away the many idle hours. What diversions they did have were mostly reserved for the males. Mixed parties were not very popular, evidently, for descriptions of anything resembling the *tertulia* are seldom encountered in these travel accounts. "The only exhibition that I witnessed on the pampas," remarks Schmidtmeyer, "of any of their favourite amusements was once that of a small party in which an individual was singing with an accompaniment of the guitar, and the others listening."[33] On special occasions there were the well-known singing and dancing contests and poetry recitals.

The chief amusement of the men was card-playing, and they were considered incurable gamblers. Many of the posts had *pulperías* attached to them where various household items were sold, as well as liquor. Here the gauchos met to gamble. It was their custom to stick their knives in the counter in front of them—as a warning that there was to be no cheating. At the slightest suspicion or dishonesty, they immediately had recourse to their favorite weapon, and seldom was a card game completed without bloodshed. The gauchos did not grasp their knives as Europeans would, "but placing the end of the heft in the palm of the hand, they stretch their fingers and thumb down towards the blade; they thus bring the point in a straight line with the eye, and fence with it as with foils."[34]

Their chief delights outdoors were horse-racing and cock-fighting. The races were quite different from those the Britishers had been accustomed to seeing in Europe. The principal object seemed to be to determine which horse was able to get the best start. Of these horse-races, Vidal writes:

There are no horses trained for racing, nor is any attention paid to breed with a view to that object. No match is ever made for more than half

[32] *Ibid.*, 10.
[33] Schmidtmeyer, *Travels*, 176.
[34] Proctor, *Narrative*, 16.

a mile; but the ordinary distance is two *quadras,* [*sic*] or three hundred yards, and the race is decided in a single heat. To make amends for this, however, they will start more than twenty times, and after running a few yards, return until the riders can agree that the start is equal. . . . They ride without saddle, whip, or spur, having only a bridle without a bit; and thus the spirit and speed of the animals have fair play.[35]

If it were a festive day, as well as a day of racing, then perhaps the *sortija* would also be an attraction. This game consisted of a decorated arch from the center of which was suspended a finger-ring. The horsemen had short sticks, about twelve inches in length, decorated with different colored ribbons. The players were arranged at each end of the tilting ground, with the arch in the center. When a signal was given, a horseman dashed forward straight for the arch, his arm raised, with the stick pointed towards the ring. Out darted another gaucho, and another, until one horseman succeeded in plunging his stick through the ring. The victor held the stick aloft in a gesture of triumph, and caracoling and curvetting his horse, he lowered the stick to a lady on the sidelines, who removed the ring, and the game proceeded once more.[36]

The gaucho was often branded with the epithets of "lazy." "indolent," and was said to be unwilling to do any work unless it was absolutely necessary. MacCann comments:

He cannot be depended on to do anything within a limited period; he has no idea of the value of time, he counts by days, never by hours, much less by minutes; he is a procrastinator, and the life of a procrastinator is an everlasting to-morrow. . . . When idle he is either sipping maté or smoking cigars. The poor women are employed in cooking and washing clothes; but they do nothing more than is absolutely necessary to maintain existence.[37]

Another English traveler commenting on the same subject writes:

Those who visit his hut find him at the door with his arms folded, and his poncho over his left shoulder like a Spanish cloak; his hut is in holes, and would evidently be made more comfortable by a few hours' labour: in a beautiful climate, he is without fruit or vegetables; surrounded by cattle, he is without milk, he is often without bread, and he has no food but beef and water. . . .[38]

There were some travelers, however, perhaps a little more discerning, who felt that the gaucho was not as indolent as he appeared

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35 Vidal, *Picturesque Illustrations,* 104.
36 Wilfrid Latham, *The States of the River Plate,* 2nd. ed., London, 1860, 59–60.
37 MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles,* I, 155–156.
38 Head, *Rough Notes,* 11.

to be most of the time. In fact, if the occasion required, he was anything but indolent. With proper stimulus, he was capable of exerting almost inexhaustible energy. On the pampas, in the hunt, in his wars with hostile Indians, indolence was not tolerated. As one English traveler judiciously observed: "It is on the plain, when armed with his knife and his bolas . . . that the indolence of the gaucho is thrown aside, and his physical energies developed."[39]

If the gaucho did not work as hard as some English travelers thought he should, it was probably because he did not see the need for it. With some reflection, Head was able to perceive this and comments:

> It is true the Gaucho has no luxuries; but the great feature of his character is, that he is a person without wants. Accustomed to live constantly in the open air, and to sleep on the ground, he does not consider that a few holes in his hut deprive it of its comforts.[40]

Despite the inability of some English travelers to comprehend the ways of the gaucho, simply because he happened to be different, the great majority did try to be objective in their observations. Through their published travel accounts, one is able to obtain a fairly authentic picture of the nineteenth century gaucho. As stated so succinctly by Martínez Estrada: "En los Viajeros Ingleses . . . ahí está el gaucho sin deformar."[41]

S. Samuel Trifilo

Marquette University

[39] P. Campbell Scarlett, *South America and the Pacific*, London, 1838, I, 272.

[40] Head, *Rough Notes*, 11.

[41] Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *El mundo maravilloso de Guillermo Enrique Hudson*, Buenos Aires, 1951, 136.

Book Reviews

Juan Antonio Balthasar. Padre Visitador to the Sonora Frontier (1744–1745). Two Original Reports. Peter Masten Dunne (ed.) Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tuscon, Arizona, 1957. Pp. iii, 122. $10.00.

Owing to the expanding mission frontier in northern Mexico, Jesuit provincials were faced with the difficulty of maintaining efficient contact with their subjects. Various expedients were adopted, but the one that proved most satisfactory was the appointment of a *padre visitador* to the mission territory with authority to examine into administration, check on developments, and to make the changes and legislation he thought necessary. Upon completion of his assignment, the *visitador* was obliged to present a written report to the provincial in Mexico.

In 1744, the Swiss Jesuit, Juan Antonio Balthasar (1697–1763), who had come to New Spain twenty-five years earlier, was sent as *visitador* to the missions in Sonora and Lower California. He left a full, detailed report of his visit to Lower California, but all that remains of his visit to Sonora are the two letters published in this book. Whether he wrote more on Sonora is doubtful, although Father Dunne holds that he did and that the report probably lies hidden in some private collection.

The first letter is "An account of the condition of the frontier missions of the province of Sonora and of the heathen Indians and an examination of the ways and means to effect the conversion of the above-mentioned Indians." It contains plans for a project very close to Balthasar's heart: the conversion of the Moquis, Indians who lived far beyond the frontiers of the Pimería Alta (actually they were the Hopis in northeastern Arizona). As he conceived it, a preliminary and essential step to this objective was the conversion and reduction to pueblo life of the Pimas and Cocomaricopas who lived along the banks of the Gila river. By establishing a chain of missions among these people, the missionaries, in their approach to the Moquis, would have some protection against the Apaches, the "scourge of the North," whom Balthasar also hoped eventually to convert. He was pessimistic, however, about his plan, which had the full approval of Philip V, being executed. The reasons? Financial support from Mexico was not forthcoming; frontier colonial government, which was unjust in its treatment of the Indians, was constantly procrastinating and most reluctant to furnish the necessary military protection to the missionaries against the Apaches. If this situation is not remedied, Balthasar writes, only one conclusion can be drawn: "We shall understand that the obligation of reducing the mass of these heathen Indians no longer devolves upon the person of the King; that without these new conversions the renown of the Catholic King is already assured, and that the zeal of His Majesty is already satisfied. We shall realize that all his laws and cedulas speak of the past, but not of the future with its new worlds to conquer."

The second letter deals with "The great difficulty which exists in this province of Sonora in carrying out the most constructive and necessary directions because of its present organization." In Balthasar's eyes, the "great difficulty" in the conversion of the Moquis was the governor of Sonora, Don Agustín Vildósola. This gentleman, Balthasar pointed out, had saved the Sonora missions by his suppression of the Yaqui revolt in 1741, but had proved a disappointment in the work of converting the Moquis. Rather, he had become arrogant, greedy, and most contemptuous of the Jesuit missionaries to whom he owed so much. Father Balthasar writes:

"My dear Father Provincial, the ambition and the intolerable pride of this gentleman would not be believed, were it not a certified fact. In all his letters and in his talk he displays an authoritativeness so despotic that even the King would not venture so to carry on even if he were writing to a Negro slave. His ingratitude for what our men have done in his favor is so notorious that all the grace of God is necessary in order to put up with it. If one departs from his dictations in the slightest thing, it is an offense, and one who does not agree with his opinion becomes a declared enemy. . . . The spirit of revenge which he displays on these occasions . . . is entirely unchristian. His language dishonors his official position and renders his authority despicable."

The two letters place sharply in focus the perennial problems of the missions: the never ending conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities regarding the treatment of the natives. They reveal the zeal of the missionaries yet Balthasar is not slow in pointing out the human defects of several of the fathers.

This volume has other valuable features. It contains an excellent summary of the west coast missions of the Jesuits, a short history of the office of a *padre visitador,* a very helpful biographical sketch of Balthasar and of the other Jesuit missionaries involved in the visitation, and an illuminating commentary on the two letters. The explanatory notes are full, and the index complete. Since this is a posthumous publication, congratulations must be extended to the two Jesuit historians, Ernest Burrus and John Bannon, for their great care in preparing the manuscript for the printer. Congratulations are likewise extended to the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society for bringing out such a handsome volume.

CHARLES E. RONAN

Loyola University, Chicago

Apostle of Brazil. The Biography of Padre José de Anchieta, S.J., (1534–1597). By Helen G. Dominian. Exposition Press, New York, 1958. Pp. xvii, 346. $6.00.

Some years ago Mrs. Helen Dominian was captivated by a brief account of the deeds of Father Anchieta, a Jesuit missionary in the very early days of colonial Brazil. Finding little written on him in English she set herself

diligently to the task of remedying the deficiency. Now, despite the many difficulties and delays she has brought forth in English the first ample biography of the thaumaturge whose achievements in the construction of the Portuguese colony have been widely commemorated in imperial and republican Brazil with monuments and place names and on stamps and coins of the realm. The result of her painstaking and patient research is this rewarding and illuminating book.

Amply backed by documents and letters of the period, Mrs. Dominian adheres strictly to the chronological order, which best reveals the growth in stature of an heroic figure. Chapter by chapter she follows the steps of Anchieta, describing his work in the formation of a new Brazilian society and his place in the foundation of institutions that long endured in Brazil. José was born March 19, 1534, in Laguna on the island of Tenerife in the Canaries. He was a blood relation of Ignatius Loyola, who in that year began to organize the Society of Jesus. At sixteen José was sent to Coimbra for preparatory schooling under the Jesuits. He entered their novitiate in 1551. There medical men found he had the incurable curvature of the spine from which he suffered throughout his life. In 1553 he was sent with the fleet of Duarte da Costa to the missions of Brazil that had been begun by Father Nóbrega in 1549. There together with his other work he completed his studies for the priesthood and was ordained in Bahia in 1565.

His contributions to the colonial life began with teaching classes of children of the colonists at Bahia and next in the newly opened college in São Paulo. He organized the programs for the various levels. He quickly learned the "general language" of the natives and translated its terms into Latin. He helped in the uprooting of cannibalism and barbarous habits by training the children in civilized practices. He organized villages of natives. He studied symptoms in the disease-ridden country and sought remedies in herbs and trees, writing an account of his findings. He became a surgeon and physician to the people of the forest. He wrote descriptions of the flora and fauna, and gathered information on the natives for anthropologists. He chronicled events for future historians. He became "the virtual initiator of Brazilian literature." During the wars between tribes and between the French and Portuguese, he with Nóbrega strove at the risk of their lives for peace. As rector and provincial of the houses, missions, colleges, and aldeias of the Jesuits in the vast land he administered the increasing activities zealously and well through the latter part of his forty-four years labor in Brazil.

The biography is written sympathetically, even reverently, yet its pages are filled with adventures on land, in the jungles and mountains, and on sea. The Apostle of Brazil moves serenely through all dangers confident in God and in his mission. Plagues, pestilences, cannibalism, paganism, greed, corruption, pirates, martyrdoms, wars, illness—all were secondary to the single, driving purpose of Anchieta, which was the civilization and salvation of his beloved people of Brazil.

Jerome V. Jacobsen

Loyola University, Chicago

The Republican Era: 1869–1901. By Leonard D. White. Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. ix, 406. $6.00.

The sub-title of this book is *A Study in Administrative History* and it must be observed at once that this sub-title has significant meaning. Dr. White is not concerned with political, social or economic history. In this volume as in the three preceding volumes that he wrote concerning the period from 1789 to 1861, the same objective was kept in mind, namely, making clear the functioning of the central government of the nation. City and state governments are given only passing treatment. Hence, as we might expect there are chapters with such titles as "The Treasury Department" and "The War Department" and "The Post Office Department" as well as others indicating specific treatment of an important segment of the national government.

Individuals are not accorded extended treatment but direct quotations are given when these statements contain evidence of the attitude of the person concerned toward the functioning of the federal governmental machine.

Now that our national government has become socialistic in everything but name and now that presidential candidates vie with one another in socialistic promises, it is at least interesting to compare the attitudes of the Republican Garfield with the Republican Eisenhower and likewise the position taken by the Democrat Cleveland with that taken by the Democrat Stevenson. Garfield wrote in 1874, concerning Grant: "We had somewhat of a struggle to keep him from drifting into the foolish notion that it was necessary to make large appropriations on public works to give employment to laborers." Garfield, then a member of Congress, went on to observe that it was "not part of the functions of the national government to find employment for people—and if we were to appropriate a hundred million for this purpose, we should be taxing forty millions of people to keep a few thousand employed."

Cleveland likewise declared in the course of his second inaugural address in 1893 "that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support the Government, its functions do not include the support of the people." Can you imagine either a Republican or a Democratic officeholder who would dare to make such a statement today? Jefferson's belief that no generation has a right to pass on a debt to another generation was still evidently influencing Garfield in their ill-natured opposition to that great discovery of the twentieth century, deficit financing.

As one would expect there is much material in such chapters as "The Battle for Reform" and "The Struggle of Existence" concerning the Civil Service Act of 1883, often referred to as the Pendleton Act, toward which Dr. White was very well disposed. He goes to great lengths to show, in citation after citation, that office seekers prior to 1883 did much to corrupt and demoralize the federal government. Although this evil was not immediately corrected by the Pendleton Act, the author believes that a start was made by that legislation to lessen the evil. Painstakingly documented and adequately indexed, this volume more than adequately lives up to its sub-title of being *A Study in Administrative History.*

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comments

University of the Northern Plains, A History of the University of North Dakota 1883–1958, by Louis G. Geiger, published this year by the University of North Dakota Press, Grand Forks, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the University of North Dakota, comes as a pleasant surprise, if one considers the average history of a university. Professor Geiger's experience as an historian with the Fifth Army in Italy during World War II, his publication of *Joseph W. Folk of Missouri,* his fellowships, and his knowledge of the University of North Dakota from his tenure as a faculty member since 1946, made him a qualified candidate for writing this history. The product has proved the wisdom of the choice of authors.

The book is entertainingly yet objectively written in an exceptional literary style. It is not only a history of the University and of the development of the whole educational system of North Dakota but it brings out the political, social and economic history of Grand Forks and the State as background, indicating many avenues for research by students western history. It evaluates the University's aims and ideals in relation to the national trends in education and thus becomes a healthy contribution to the story of American culture. It estimates the good and the evil in the control of an academic institution by politics and politicians. It points out the great influence of the institution on the people of the State and upon their particular ways of life.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first tells of "Grand Forks University," from 1883 to 1899, tracing the development in four chapters on The Founders and the Founding, The First Year, The University Takes Root, and The 1890's–Years of Crisis. The second part, "The State University, 1899–1945," carries the history in six chapters from the days of the struggling arts college through the period of remarkable growth in stature as a University. The most notable of the pages begin with the chapter on the "Stresses and Strains" wherein the issue of academic freedom and the Nonpartisan League start problems that run through the two world wars, the depression, and the changing national political scene, all of which had resounding effects in the government of the University. The third part "The New

University" surveys the more recent progress of the University from 1954 to the present diamond jubilee year.

Some appendixes, a bibliographical note describing sources, and an index bring the pagination of the volume to 491. There are twenty pages of illustrations having more than a hundred pictures and photographs of important administrators and events. The book is set in Linotype Granjon 12-point (on 13), has a fine format, and panoramas on the end sheets of the corner stone laying and of the present expanse. It is dedicated "to those who stayed in 1895." The list price is $5.00.

* * * *

A Selective Bibliography of Important Books, Pamphlets and Broadsides Relating to Michigan History, Bibliography and Notes by Albert Harry Greenly, printed, and we may add beautifully, by The Stinehour Press, Lunenburg, Vermont, (1958) is worthy of more than passing comment. In his introduction Howard H. Peckham says: "This is a rarity among bibliographies: it can be read." Mr. Greenly, bibliophile and collector, has spent many years in research preparing these 157 pages and gathering his comments on the 125 selected items in the bibliography. A native of Michigan and a lover of its past and present history, Mr. Greenly has obtained for his own library the majority of the many books cited in his notes. He has had made twenty-seven excellent collotype reproductions of the title pages from the rarer books, which are neatly tipped in between the numbered, specially made, all-rag pages.

The books are arranged in chronological order and are selected to cover the broader eras of Michigan's development, the exploration period, the French period, the influx of immigrants and territorial days, statehood and the lumbering industry, the twentieth century growth in industries, especially the automotive. The first of the books listed and described in minute detail is Samuel Champlain: *Des Savvages, ou, Voyage de Samuel Champlain, de Brovage,* 1604, and the last is Louis C. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the printed maps of Michigan, 1804–1880,* 1931. Below each entry are a Collation, Plates, Signature, list of holders of the rarer copies, and when necessary, errors and differences between editions. These will be skipped by the ordinary reader, but conned by collectors and bibliophiles. The interesting part

follows, generally comprising a description of the contents of the book, its author, the reason for its insertion in the bibliography, and references to its use by authorities. Here Mr. Greenly generally follows the findings of the best scholars in the field. In one instance, however, by accepting Henri de Tonti's account of the La Salle expedition to Matagorda Bay (p. 15) he fails to note that La Salle deliberately missed the mouth of the Mississippi and planted his colony as close as possible to the Santa Barbara mines with a view to an attack on them, all according to plans laid in Paris. This of course has nothing to do with Michigan history and is incidental. The volume will undoubtedly become a collector's item and will be of great service to students of Michigan's history.

* * * *

Martín López Conquistador Citizen of Mexico, by C. Harvey Gardiner, was published this year by the University of Kentucky Press, Lexington. Mr. Gardiner, professor of history at Southern Illinois University, is the author of *Naval Power in the Conquest of Mexico* which appeared in 1956. In that study he revealed that the Aztec capital could scarcely have been captured by Cortés without the ships on Lake Texcoco. The builder, or at least the supervisor of the building of the small craft was an obscure conqueror, Martín López. This led Professor Gardiner to an investigation of the life of the shipwright as a *conquistador,* but more, as a citizen in the Mexico City that rose on the ruins of Tenochtitlán. Finding precious little documentation for a definitive biography of López, Professor Gardiner makes his volume a study of what might be called "the life and times" of López, thus tracing the events of the conquest of Mexico from 1519 through the 1570's and indicating what part López played or did not play or might have played in the story of New Spain. The narrative will prove interesting to students of the conquest by reason of the many sidelights and the many avenues for further research, but the reading will prove difficult for ordinary folk.

Throughout the work there are signs of the author's frustrations in his quest for documentation. The closest he can come to the terminal dates of López existence are somewhere between 1486 and 1491 for his birthday and somewhere between 1573 and 1577 for his demise. López arrived somewhere in the West Indies about 1616 when he was twenty-five or thirty. During the next

two years he seems to have been a merchant, but definitely set out with Cortés for Mexico in 1518. He aided the conqueror with money, men, and services, and once the conquest was over was a constant litigant for a return on his investments. Much of the information gleaned about him comes from his court appearances and official actions. Little is known about the death of his first wife, but more is known of his second wife and family in New Spain. He ended his life empoverished but honored by the crown with three coats of arms.

What values are found in the study of his life? Professor Gardiner estimates López as a conqueror and as a civilian, pointing out his contributions to the spread of culture to the Americas. López came to the New World with courage and ambition. His war days were few and his actions chiefly those of a ship builder. He was one of the many conquerors who became settlers, one of the first merchants. He brought a loyalty to the established forms of government and law. He was one of the farmers and one of the original ranchers. He brought an esteem for the Indians and was liked by them, yet ever remained in the hidalgo class. He was a good neighbor and a civic organizer, a good family man, a supporter of the Church and a contributor to charitable and social institutions. In fine, Professor Gardiner says: "Culturally, the robust conquistador transplanted the social hierarchy, the economic order, the political system, the religious faith of Spain as rapidly as he could in the New World." (P. 172).

The volume of 191 pages includes an Essay on Authorities, a Glossary, and an index, and is listed at $6.00.

* * * *

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* in May of this year included among its Notes and Comments the plea of R. A. Humphries for some urgently needed tools for research in Latin American history. He begs for men and money to prepare four bibliographical Guides to 1) Materials for Latin American history in the official publications of the United Kingdom, 2) in the official publication of the United States, 3) sources of Latin American history in libraries and archives of Great Britain, and 4) to Latin American history. He wants his plea published far and wide in the hope of getting volunteers for the mighty task.

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David Rowland Francis: American Businessman in Russia

During World War I many Americans, interested in foreign markets for surplus manufactures and surplus capital, discovered for the first time the excellent opportunities which Tsarist Russia afforded for commercial and financial development. The tremendous upheaval of the war brought out as through some volcanic eruption, a new export market. Theorists of the press and platform talked, argued, sold, and advertised Russia, as "America's greatest export opportunity." While many persons were sincere in their utterances pertaining to the great possibilities for Americans in Russia once peace was restored, there were others who were carried away by the stream of enthusiam bordering on hysteria and superficialty. Thus a "vast tribe" of persons who had never sold a "package of pins" to a foreign customer, and almost every person whose surname ended in "ski" or "vitch," or whose affiliations with the Russian Empire were of the flimsiest description, were promoting Russian trade.[1]

This boom of American interst in Russian trade had several features of similarity with the earlier effervescence of United States trade with Latin-America. Almost every boat from Europe brought a group of more or less representative Russians; organizations dealing with Russian trade were springing up everywhere; journals devoted to Russian-American trade appeared upon the scene; exiles and the children of exiles suddenly discovered the marketableness of their descent and country of origin. The Russian boom, as

[1] Archibald J. Wolfe, "Selling Machinery and Steel in Russia," *Iron Age*, XCVII (June 29, 1916), 1548.

the Latin-American boom, called to life almost over night a great variety of fakers, dreamers, schemers, and hangers-on.

While hysteria and superficiality distinguished the rather sudden development of interest in Russia, common sense and thoroughness of inquiry into the opportunities which existed in the Empire for ambitious persons, provided the basis for the optimism of many thinking Americans. No less an authority than Dean E. F. Gay of the Harvard School of Business Administration remarked that "Russia is an inviting opportunity for American business enterprise."[2] Similar opinions were expressed by several American diplomats familiar with the Russian scene.

Curtis Guild, ambassador to Russia from 1911 to 1914, observed that "in every direction" the opportunities for American enterprise were boundless. He emphasized that while it "was well and for all reasons desirable" that Americans sought the markets of Latin-America, they should not overlook the fact that the Russian Empire provided a consuming market of over twice the value of all Latin-America.[3]

Likewise, George T. Marye, who succeeded Guild at Petrograd, was confident that after the war there would be a period of great business activity in Russia, in road building, in new industrial, commercial, and financial enterprises. It was his sincere hope that his countrymen would partake of the opportunity which he felt was thus provided. In his opinion, it would be of immense advantage to all concerned if Americans would take an active part in all the activities which he believed would be characteristic of the post-war Russia.[4]

However, it was the last ambassador to Tsarist Russia, David Rowland Francis, who was the most enthusiastic, although not always a too realistic champion of closer economic ties between Russia and the United States. Francis, St. Louis grain dealer and Democratic politician, was nominated by President Woodrow Wilson to succeed Marye as ambassador to Russia following the latter's request in February, 1916, to be recalled ostensibly because of ill health.[5]

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[2] *The Literary Digest*, V (July 1, 1916), 15.

[3] Curtis Guild, "Russia and American Trade," *Nation's Business*, II (December 15, 1914), 5.

[4] George T. Marye, *Nearing the End in Imperial Russia*, Philadelphia, 1929, 475.

[5] *New York Times*, February 17, 1916. For background see D. C. De Young, "David Rowland Francis: American in Russia" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1949).

President Wilson and the State Department attached unusual importance to the Petrograd Embassy due to the necessity of negotiating a new treaty to replace the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1832 which had been abrogated as of December 31, 1912, and certain added responsibilities growing out of World War I. Due to the stress laid on trade, it was felt that the man for this post should above all be an experienced businessman, a man wise in the ways of developing better trade relations and enough of a diplomat to present the case in such a way as to bring the trade negotiations to a happy conclusion.[6] Thus when Marye asked to be relieved President Wilson did not hesitate to wire Francis to come to Washington for an interview. The President outlined the importance of the Embassy in Russia, placing emphasis on the need of a skilled businessman and diplomat to work out the trade treaty program.[7] Francis showed much interest in the post, and after conferring with his wife, who was convalescing from an illness at the home of friends in Florida, accepted the post on February 22, 1916.[8] His nomination was confirmed by the Senate without the customary reference to a committee on March 6, 1916.

Francis, who had reluctantly turned down an earlier offer to serve as ambassador to Argentina, seemed to view his assignment to Russia as a last opportunity for public service, a final great adventure. The onetime governor of Missouri was intensely interested in doing all he could to promote direct commercial relations between Russia and the United States. Hence, it was relatively simple for the American businessman who controlled the *St. Louis Republic* and held considerable railroad securities in the United States, to become absorbed in his job without the slightest delay.[9]

Francis announced at the time of his appointment that, in his judgement, Russia offered a better field for the investment of American capital and for the exercise of American ingenuity and enterprise "than any other country on the globe."[10] Moreover,

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[6] *New York Times*, February 19, 1916. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 23, 1916.

[7] *New York Times*, February 17, 1916.

[8] *New York Times*, February 23, 1916. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 23, 1916.

[9] *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 7, 1916. George F. Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, Princeton, 1956, 35. William A. Williams, *American-Russian Relations, 1781–1947*, New York, 1952, 84.

[10] Francis to Woodrow Wilson, April 6, 1916, David R. Francis Collection, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

he believed that the proper moment had arrived for the establishment of closer economic ties with Russia, emphasizing that "now is the time for the establishment of such relations."[11] In his opinion, Russia surpassed South America or any other area of the world for the opportunities it offered in the commercial and financial fields. Realizing that such an opportunity might not occur again, he advised all who were interested to take advantage of it at once, lest the opportunity slip away never to be recovered.[12] Thus he urged that preparations be made during the war for the post-war period when Russia would welcome and eagerly receive American commercial and financial overtures.

The confidence that Francis and other Americans had in the future of Russian-American economic relations was predicated upon several assumptions. In the first place it was assumed, at least prior to the revolution of November, 1917, that Russia had the political and economic stability necessary to withstand the rigors of war. Few Americans, least of all Ambassador Francis, had the vision to foresee that the unstable Provisional Government would, within a matter of months, succumb to a Bolshevik coup.[13]

A second assumption was that after World War I Russia would continue to look to the West for foreign capital, machines, and technical skill and know-how. Certainly she had looked to western nations, including the United States, for these needs prior to the outbreak of the war. During the pre-war period American firms had found an increasing demand for their manufactures in Russia, particularly agricultural machinery and implements. Moreover, Russia continued to import large amounts of raw cotton, as she had done during the latter part of the nineteenth century.[14]

Although trade between Russia and the United States had been small before the war in comparison to Russia's trade with such nations as Germany and Great Britain, it did show a sizeable increase over a period of several years. Thus Russian imports from the United States in 1906 were valued at only $18,815,514 as compared to $31,303,149 in 1914.[15] Furthermore, these statistics do not reveal the full extent of Russia's imports as a large propor-

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11 Francis to William J. Stone, April 12, 1916, *ibid.*

12 Francis to William G. McAdoo, April 20, 1916, *ibid.*

13 Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Road to Teheran*, Princeton, 1945, 98–101.

14 Gilbert C. Kohlenberg, "Russian-American Economic Relations, 1906–1917" (Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1951), 91.

15 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1908, 368.

tion of American goods reached the Empire through London and Hull, Bremen and Hamburg. In fact, the situation appeared so promising that the American Consul-General in Moscow, John H. Snodgrass, reported that the indirect trade with Russia was "enormous and increasing rapidly."[16]

During the war American exports to Russia showed a substantial increase. According to official United States government statistics, in the fiscal year 1915, the first year of the war, they amounted to $60,827,531; in 1916, $310,242,890; and in the fiscal year 1917, $558,894,445.[17] This would bring the total for the three fiscal years to approximately $930,000,000, while the total domestic exports to Russia in the fifty years before the war were about $575,000,000. As might be expected, the articles exported in largest amounts were those directly or indirectly connected with the war. However, this fact did not dampen the enthusiasm of those Americans who saw a great future for Russian-American trade relations.

Russia also needed increasingly larger amounts of foreign capital with which to finance the purchase of war materials in the United States and elsewhere during the war. This was forthcoming in the form of loans floated in the United States and Great Britain with the able assistance of J. P. Morgan and Company. An aggregate of over $96,000,000 in loans was floated through Morgan's New York office and some $86,000,00 was supplied by Morgan through the British.[18] Prior to the war a few businessmen and financiers had invested capital in Russian enterprises, although on a small scale. The bulk of foreign capital invested was French, English, Belgian, and German in origin. But World War I rapidly changed this situation. At the same time that the United States was in the process of becoming a creditor nation and thereby acquiring surplus capital for foreign investment, France, England, and Germany needed more capital at home and found less opportunities for making investments in foreign nations, including Russia. Thus the opportunity developed for the United States to enter the Russian Empire nearly unopposed, provided that her bankers and industrialists so desired.

Indeed the situation looked so hopeful for American com-

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16 James H. Snodgrass to Philander C. Knox, February 15, 1913, State Department Archives, 661.1117.

17 *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1917, 387.

18 *Loans to Foreign Governments*, Washington, 1921, 89 92–94. Francis to Robert Lansing, June 16, 1916, Francis Collection.

mercial and financial interests that Dean Gay, as previously stated, appraised Russia as an "inviting field" for American businessmen. With this appraisal Ambassador Francis heartily agreed. He noted that Russia contained "immense resources" that awaited development, a task which necessitated the use of foreign capital and technical know-how. Moreover, in his opinion, the Russian market was so extensive "that every enterprising American" would be able to do business in the Empire. He viewed 170,000,000 Russians as potential customers of American merchants.[19]

Germany's permanent withdrawal from the Russian market was a third assumption made by the American businessman predicting a great increase in American trade with Russia. Due to the war, the German Empire, which had carried on a very lucrative trade with Russia until the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, was out of the Russian market. Francis was confident that Germany would remain permanently out, or at least for some years after the war's end. He noted with glee that the great advantages which Germany had enjoyed in commercial relations with Russia were terminated by the war.[20] Moreover, he was convinced that the animosities and memories of the war would present a formidable barrier to any German attempt to successfully reestablish commercial relations with Russia "for years to come."[21] This conviction was based primarily upon his personal observations shortly after arriving in Russia. In his contacts with Russians from various walks of life he acquired the impression that "all of the people here" hated Germany and would for an indefinite period of time. The Russian merchants, the nobility, and even the Emperor, Francis reported, were determined that no country would ever again occupy the same relation to Russia that Germany had held prior to the war.[22]

Nevertheless, Francis was hopeful that the United States would be the heir to Germany's vacated position. In his opinion, Russia should be willing to grant to America the same financial and commercial favors at one time accorded the Germans. She was more inclined, he confidently assumed, to grant such favors to the United States rather than to Great Britain.[23] This last assumption was

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[19] Francis to Paul W. Brown, April 15, 1916, *ibid.*
[20] Francis to John Sharp Williams, April 13, 1916, *ibid.*
[21] Francis to William G. McAdoo, April 12, 1916, *ibid.*
[22] Francis to Frank L. Polk, May 9, 1916, *ibid.*
[23] Francis to John Sharp Williams, April 13, 1916, *ibid.* Francis to John F. Lee, April 20, 1916, *ibid.*

based primarily upon Francis's insatiable desire to minimize or nullify, if possible, English influence at Petrograd. He had a great fear—almost an obsession—that England would make every effort to supplant Germany in the Russian market and thereby hinder American efforts of a similar purpose and nature. He realized that England considered herself the "heir persumptive" to Germany's former dominance of Russian trade. However, it was his contention that the United States had as much right to "this commercial throne as England. . . ."[24] If discreet and aggressive the United States could capture it, to the exclusion of Great Britain.

Throughout the year 1916 and during the first months of 1917, until Russian political developments occupied most of his time, Francis continued to worry about English influence. He thought that London should be reminded that she "is only able to finance Russia . . . by the assistance she gets from the United States."[25] However, he admitted that England, in financing Russia, had the right to require approval of how Russia expended the money. But this was a constant irritation to the Ambassador. In fact, he almost reached the point of advocating that the United States refuse to lend money to Great Britain as long as she persisted in her "selfish" domination of Russia.[26]

Particularly, Francis was suspicious of "our English cousins," fearful that English influence already strong in Russia, was being strengthened by the persistent efforts of J. P. Morgan and Company. It was his great fear that the House of Morgan was so thoroughly English in sentiment that it looked with suspicion upon any and all efforts to promote closer commercial relations between the United States and Tsarist Russia.[27] Even worse, the American businessman was convinced that the British with the able assistance of Morgan, were not only financing Russia during the war, but were making every effort to occupy the same position in relation to Russia after the war, which Germany had held for so many years.[28]

Moreover, Francis complained bitterly that England also interfered with direct trade between Russia and the United States. He reported in a letter to President Wilson that the English sub-

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24 Francis to William G. McAdoo, April 20, 1916, *Ibid.*
25 *Lansing Papers*, 2 vols., Washington, 1939–1940, II, 323.
26 Francis to Perry Francis, October 7, 1916, Francis Collection.
27 Francis to Woodrow Wilson, April 6, 1916, *ibid.*
28 Francis to Edward M. House, April 13, 1916, *ibid.*

jected all American cables to censorship. Frequently, messages of a commercial nature, destined for Russia and originating in the United States, were never delivered. The same was true of Russian cables sent to America via Great Britain. This situation, according to Francis, had resulted in many complaints being filed with the American Embassy. Messages which did reach their intended destination were delayed, and frequently, if not always, read in England and "their competitors advised of the contents thereof."[29]

Francis also seemed to feel that certain Russian government officials were under English influence. This was true, in his opinion, of the Minister of Finance P. L. Bark and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Sazonov. Both men, under apparent English influence, rebuffed him when he approached them on the subject of a new commercial treaty, a subject which will be elaborated upon a little later in this paper.[30]

Men less resolute might have given up in despair but not the impetuous American businessman who was determined to succeed in his last great adventure. On the contrary, down to the revolution of November, 1917, he was still hopeful that America would meet with ultimate success in her efforts to gain Germany's former position in the Russian Empire. Mixing fancy with fact, he reported periodically to Washington that a minority of Russians actually approved of the growing English influence. In his opinion, most Russians, especially the commercial classes, resented this influence. They had acquired a deep-seated resentment against any country occupying vis-à-vis Russia "the relation which Germany held before the war."[31] He confidently reported in February, 1917, to his fellow-Missourian, Senator William J. Stone, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that the Russian resentment was growing stronger "from day to day," especially in commercial circles. Many Russians, so stated Francis, were saying that if they were going to have commercial masters there was no occasion for the horrible war in which Russia was engaged.[32] Earlier in a letter to his son Perry Francis, he had

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[29] *Lansing Papers*, II, 322–323. Francis to Robert Lansing, September 23, 1916, Francis Collection. Francis to Woodrow Wilson, February 22, 1917, *ibid.* Williams, *American-Russian Relations*, 84–85.

[30] *Lansing Papers*, II, 311–312, 322. Francis to Robert Lansing, May 2, 1916, Francis Collection. Francis to Frank L. Polk, May 3, 1916, *ibid.* Francis to William Phillips, May 2, 1916, *ibid.*

[31] Francis to Robert Lansing, May 7, 1916, Francis Collection.

[32] Francis to William J. Stone, February 26, 1917, *ibid.*

emphasized the same point. Many Russians were saying, "Why did we enter this war if we are going to be as subject to England as we were to Germany before it began?"[33]

It was his cherished hope that the Russians would realize that nothing could be gained by exchanging "the commercial yoke" of Germany for one of England. The Russian people, he believed, were inclined to turn to the United States, as they were aware of English tactics which called for "sucking the very life blood" of the foreign trade of every country to the extent possible.[34] In one of his last references to this problem in his dispatches to the State Department, Francis informed the Secretary that "it will require many banquets" to remove the prejudice existing in Russia against British influence, which appeared to become more distasteful from week to week to the commercial interests of Russia.[35]

It is rather apparent that Francis was resorting to rationalization in formulating his opinions on this subject. His optimism over a possible Russian rebuff to British commercial overtures in deference to closer economic ties with America was somewhat premature, if not completely unfounded. While it is probable that, had there been no great and fundamental Russian Revolution, American merchants and investors would have been able to acquire some of the perquisites and privileges at one time enjoyed by the Germans, it is highly unlikely that the British would have been excluded from all such opportunities. On the contrary, there was a strong possibility that the Russians, weary of commercial masters, would have shown no undue preference to either the British or the Americans.

In spite of the fact that the American businessman was optimistic over the probability that Russia would favor American influence in preference to British in the post-war era, he did not assume an attitude of complacency. Instead he advocated an all out effort on the part of the United States to capture the Russian commercial throne. He espoused an aggressive program of action which would lead to the establishment of direct commercial relations with Russia, without the benefit of an intermediary.[36] The intermediary, of course, was Great Britain. Only in this way

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33 Francis to Perry Francis, May 23, 1916, *ibid.*
34 Francis to John F. Lee, April 20, 1916, *ibid.*
35 Francis to Robert Lansing, February 13, 1917, *ibid.*
36 Francis to Darwin P. Kingsley, April 13, 1916, *ibid.*

could the United States hope to counteract growing British competition for the Russian market.

Francis believed that this objective could be accomplished in several ways: first and foremost, the negotiation of a commercial treaty; second, the establishment of direct cable communication between Russia and the United States; and third, the use of his "good offices" to advance the cause of American trade, a function normally performed by the consular service.

The formulation of a new trade treaty was a matter of great concern to President Wilson and the State Department.[37] Wilson expressed keen interest in the extension of American commercial relations with foreign countries, especially Russia. In a letter to Leo Pasvolsky of the *Russian Review* in October, 1916, the President stated that it had been his earnest desire "ever since I assumed office" to bring about a new and thoroughly satisfactory understanding between Russia and the United States in the form of a new commercial treaty.[38] However, even more concerned was Francis whose primary mission in Russia was the negotiation of such a treaty. He considered the abrogation of the treaty of 1832 a great mistake, one which he hoped to rectify by the negotiation of a new commercial treaty. To him, this was the key to any success that the United States might enjoy in winning the Russian market. Without the treaty, he opined, it would be extremely difficult to establish direct commercial relations between these two nations.[39]

However, even the optimistic and impetuous Francis realized that it would be very difficult to achieve this desired objective.[40] That he appreciated the magnitude of the undertaking is revealed in his correspondence while en route to Petrograd. He stated, to personal friends and government officials alike, that there were several obstacles which had to be surmounted before his mission could be a success. Looming large on the horizon was the Jewish question, the big issue which had precipitated the abrogation of the original treaty, and which had to be settled in a manner mutually satisfactory to both Russia and the United States before a new treaty could be formulated.

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[37] Telegram, Lansing to George T. Marye, June 19, 1915, State Department Archives, 711.612/240a. *New York Times,* February 19, 1916. Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War,* 35.

[38] *Russian Review,* II (November, 1916), 21.

[39] Francis to Oscar S. Straus, April 16, 1916, Francis Collection. Francis to John Sharp Williams, April 13, 1916, *ibid.*

[40] Francis to Edward M. House, April 13, 1916, *ibid.*

Jewish interests in the United States, unhappy with the official oppression of their kinsmen in Russia, started the agitation which culminated in the abrogation of the treaty of 1832. American Jews felt that the discrimination of the Russian government against members of their faith was a violation of the first article of this treaty.[41] They objected particularly to the refusal of Russian consuls in the United States to give visas to those American Jews desiring to visit Russia that did not have special permission of the Minister of the Interior. By Russian passport regulations, applicable to all foreign Jews except Asiatic Jews, only bankers and representatives of important commercial houses had the right of free entry into and residence in Russia on equal terms with other foreigners.[42] Thus no effort was made to discriminate against Americans, as Hebrews of all western nations were accorded similar treatment.

Nevertheless, Jewish citizens in the United States and their sympathizers exerted much pressure upon Congress and President William H. Taft, which eventually produced the desired effect. President Taft, on December 17, 1911, abrogated the contract as politely as possible, making the treaty inoperative as of January 1, 1913.[43] This action was taken following the joint resolution of the House of Representatives to this effect, and before the Senate had an opportunity to act in a similar manner.[44] Even earlier the State Department had realized the need for a new treaty. Vigorous protests against rightist Russia's hatred for Jews and all other non-Russian peoples and tribes began much earlier than 1911, perhaps as early as 1880, gaining momentum after the bloody pogroms in southern Russia, especially after the Kishenev massacre in 1903.[45] A series of American diplomats, including John Watson Foster, James G. Blaine, Andrew D. White, and Elihu Root, troubled the Russian ministry of Foreign Affairs with their notes. Secretary of State Root was particularly interested in reaching an agreement with the Imperial Government. His overtures, apparently, were well re-

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41 *Senate Doc.*, 61 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 357, II, 1515.

42 John W. Riddle to Elihu Root, November 6, 1908, State Department Archives, 15994/3. Max M. Laserson, *The American Impact on Russia-Diplomatic and Ideological, 1784–1917*, New York, 1950, 354–355.

43 *Senate Doc.*, 67 Cong., 4 Sess., No. 248, III, 2873. William H. Taft, *The Presidency, Its Duties, Its Powers, Its Opportunities*, New York, 1916, 113–114.

44 *Congressional Record*, 62 Cong., 2 Sess., XLVIII, 311.

45 Laserson, *The American Impact*, 363.

ceived in St. Petersburg, however, all attempts to negotiate the contemplated treaty were fruitless.[46]

Although political expediency had finally triumphed, the State Department used extreme care in officially informing the Imperial Government of the action taken by the United States. The official note, which was handed to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov, on December 17, 1911, was carefully worded so as to avoid the possibility of closing the door to the negotiation of another treaty. The note expressed the desire of the United States to renew the effort to negotiate a modern treaty between the two countries.[47]

Meanwhile, Charles S. Wilson, *chargé d' affairs ad interim,* who was in charge of the American Embassy during the period following the resignation of Guild and the appointment of Marye, reported periodically the sentiments of official Russia towards the ideas of a new treaty. He advised the State Department that, in his opinion, the time was exceptionally favorable for broaching the question of a new commercial treaty. However, attempts of the State Department to follow the *chargé's* admonition produced no positive results.

Francis's predecessor in Petrograd, George L. Marye, likewise was optimistic over the possibilities of Russia's favorable reaction to American overtures for a new commercial agreement. He informed Secretary of State Robert Lansing that he was confident that the Russian Foreign Office would take up the matter of a treaty in a friendly spirit and with a desire to facilitate negotiations.[48] Sazonov had given him much encouragement, stating that his government would be pleased to begin the negotiations for the framing of a new treaty.[49] However, at the time of Marye's resignation little, if anything, had been accomplished in the way of actually formulating the projected agreement. So it remained for Francis to accomplish what his predecessors had been unable to achieve.

Although Francis assumed his new duties with much zeal and enthusiasm, he was cognizant of the fact that, in order to negotiate

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[46] Elihu Root to John W. Riddle, October 6, 1908, State Department Archives, 15994. Alexander Isvolski to John W. Riddle, June 8, 1909, *ibid.*, 15994/9–10.

[47] *Foreign Relations of the United States,* Washington, 1911, 695–696.

[48] George T. Marye to Robert Lansing, June 23, 1915, State Department Archives, 711.612/242.

[49] *Ibid.*

a new treaty, it would be necessary to placate American Jewry. He believed that the Jewish question was the foremost obstacle he had to overcome in carrying out his mission.[50] Not only had American Jews played a major role in the abrogation of the treaty of 1832, but these same interests were now very vociferous in their demands that no treaty be formulated which discriminated against them.

Soon after the announcement of the appointment of Francis to the Russian post, influential Jewish citizens began efforts to persuade him to conform to their wishes. One of the most persistent and influential members of this group was Oscar S. Straus, Chairman of the Public Service Commission, First District, New York City. In his letters to Francis he stated unequivocally the Jewish position on the passport question. The Jews, Straus emphasized, demanded that a new treaty must expressly guarantee equal rights to all American citizens. They were determined that the injustices of the former treaty should not be repeated in any agreement of the future. In fact, Straus was so determined in this matter that he even attempted to intimidate Francis by stating that he had he assurance of President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing that no treaty would be accepted which did not expressly guarantee equal rights to all American citizens. He went further and insisted that any administration which would negotiate a treaty without this express provision would be selling its birthright of liberty and equality for "a few paltry dollars." To do this, he stated, would not only degrade the United States in Russian eyes, but would be the commercialization of the highest ideals "of our democratic institutions."[51]

Although Francis was willing to listen to the pleas of Jewish spokemen, he appeared to be annoyed and somewhat irritated by their persistent and arbitrary solicitations. In a letter to Senator William J. Stone of Missouri, Francis was critical of the American Jew's indictment of Russia. In his opinion, every expression by a Jew of antagonism towards Russia made the Russians less inclined to enter into closer commercial relations with the United States.[52] In an address before the Lotus Club of New York prior

50 Francis to Charles S. Hamlin, April 20, 1916, Francis Collection.

51 Oscar S. Straus to Francis, March 28, 1916, *ibid.* Straus was so concerned primarily because Francis had suggested to him the possibility of negotiating a commercial treaty which did not expressly guarantee equal rights to all American citizens.

52 Francis to William J. Stone, April 12, 1916, *ibid.*

to embarking for Russia, he admonished American Jews to stop "talking so much."[53] His mission, he surmised, would be aided if the Jews refrained from their constant denunciations of the Russian government's policy toward Jews. Moreover, he protested to President Wilson that "our Jewish friends should not expect too much."[54] He hoped that American Jews would be in a conciliatory mood if and when a treaty was drafted which did not meet all of their demands. In fact, he believed that the Jews would be very unreasonable if they demanded that the new treaty in effect regulate the domestic affairs of Russia.[55]

It is rather obvious that Francis was interested in the Jewish question only to the extent that it might hinder or thwart his efforts to accomplish his principal mission to Petrograd. Apparently, he was not unduly concerned with the Russian treatment of Jews as such. In a letter to his good friend, Norman Hapgood of *Harper's Weekly,* Francis wrote that he appreciated the good qualities of the Jews and that few Americans had less prejudice than he against the race. However, he believed that the Jewish question should not prevent the negotiation of a new treaty at a time, which, in his opinion, was "the most opportune occasion we have ever had, and is greater than any one that is likely to occur again. . . ."[56]

Francis, not too adept at preliminary planning and deliberation, made a hasty effort to formulate in his own mind the general nature of the projected treaty prior to his audience with Sazonov. However, he appeared to be somewhat baffled by the dilemma which confronted him; on the one hand he had to listen to the pleas of the Jewish pressure group, on the other he had to contend with his own insatiable desire to accomplish his objective.

While cognizant of the fact that the Jews were difficult to pacify, he seemed to be confident, at least during the early weeks of his Russian sojourn, that a compromise agreement could somehow be arranged. He believed that they should be satisfied with a treaty which stipulated that all citizens of the United States would be admitted into Russia for a temporary sojourn or permanent residence, if the citizens of other countries and of the "most favored nation" were so admitted.[57] In other words, the

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[53] Francis to Woodrow Wilson, April 6, 1916, *ibid.* Francis referred frequently to his address before the Lotus Club of New York in this letter.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Francis to J. Charles Cabanne, April 25, 1916, *ibid.*

[56] Francis to Norman Hapgood, April 25, 1916, *ibid.*

[57] Francis to Robert Lansing, April 18, 1916, *ibid.* Francis to Paul W. Brown, April 15, 1916, *ibid.*

Jews should not demand a provision specifically granting recognition to passports for them when citizens of the United States. Moreover, the Ambassador was of the opinion that the Russian government would, in the immediate future, liberalize its Jewish policy, putting an end to the discrimination practiced in the past.[58] At least, he had been so informed, prior to his departure for Petrograd, by his personal advisor Professor Samuel N. Harper of the University of Chicago. Harper, a student of the Russian Empire, had advised Francis that the Russian Duma would probably enact laws permitting the Jews to live outside the Pale of Settlement, and grant them other privileges.[59] If this came to fruition the Jewish problem would be greatly minimized. There would be no occasion to mention the Jews in the treaty. Thus Francis was hopeful that developments of this nature would satisfy American Jews and those of other countries too, at least temporarily.

Unfortunately for the newly appointed Ambassador, within a few weeks after his arrival in Petrograd, he was made painfully aware of the fact that Russia had no intention of altering her discriminatory Jewish policy. Instead, old restrictions were tightened and new ones were introduced, the result of a growing anti-Jewish feeling.[60] According to Harper, the members of the Duma who had been active in advocating more liberal legislation toward the Jews, had now concluded that it would be impolitic to press such legislation.[61] In fact, Harper reported to Francis that the legislators were so much interested in the war and other matters vital to the life and independence of Russia that the Jewish question could not be considered until the end of the war.[62]

Meanwhile, it was highly improbable that American Jews would accept any treaty which did not expressly include a passport provision. Oscar Straus was bitterly opposed to Francis's suggestion relative to the proposed treaty. In his opinion, to negotiate a new treaty without a specific passport provision would be an implied, if not an expressed waiver of the American right for the equal protection of American citizens in the Russian Empire.[63] Such a sentiment expressed by one of the leading American ex-

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58 Francis to Robert Lansing, May 7, 1916, *ibid.*

59 Francis to Paul W. Brown, April 15, 1916, *ibid.* *Lansing Papers*, II, 313–314.

60 Francis to W. K. Bixby, September 4, 1916, Francis Collection.

61 Francis to Frank L. Polk, May 9, 1916, *ibid.*

62 *Lansing Papers*, II, 313–314.

63 Oscar S. Straus to Francis, April 16, 1916, Francis Collection.

ponents of the Jewish cause could not be taken lightly by those charged with the responsibility of drafting the treaty.

On his second day in Russia Francis was granted an interview with Count Sazonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sazonov originally had been bitterly opposed to the American demand that the prerequisite to the negotiation of a new treaty was the settlement of the Jewish passport problem.[64] But under wartime duress he had become more favorable to the American viewpoint, at least it had been so reported by Ambassador Marye.[65] However, unknown to the State Department and Francis, the Russian government had inaugurated a policy of refusing to negotiate any further trade treaties until the conclusion of the Allied Economic Conference, to be held in Paris in June, 1916. Thus Francis was rebuffed, although Sazonov admitted, in response to Francis's interrogation, that he had at one time told Marye, prior to his departure for the United States, that Russia was awaiting American advances for the negotiation of a new commercial treaty.[66] The Russian diplomat explained that Marye had not persisted in his advances on the subject, and that it was "too late now" that the Allies had called an economic conference for the month of June.[67] At this conference, Sazonov surmised, the Allies were going to reach an understanding as to the commercial relations between themselves and friendly, neutral, and belligerent nations after the close of the war.[68] Hence, there was no reason for Russia and the United States to act bilaterally at this time.

During the course of the interview Sazonov also stated in "good spirit" that the abrogation of the treaty of 1832 had created no great resentment in Russia, and that it had not interfered with the trade between Russia and the United States. He trusted that this relationship would continue in the future as in the past. Moreover, he added that no country would be granted advantages in Russia similar to those enjoyed by Germany before 1914, an announcement of little solace to the American businessman.[69]

Francis believed that the change in Russian policy was directly attributable to the influence which Great Britain exercised over

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[64] David R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy*, New York, 1922, 8.

[65] *Lansing Papers*, II, 309.

[66] Francis to Perry Francis, May 1, 1916, Francis Collection. *Lansing Papers*, II, 309.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Francis to Perry Francis, May 1, 1916, Francis Collection.

[69] *Ibid.* *Lansing Papers*, II, 309.

Sazonov and other Russian officials. Sazonov, he conjectured, held his position primarily due to British support. This conviction was strengthened by Sazonov's appointment as ambassador to Great Britain following his compulsory retirement from the Foreign Office in July, 1916.[70] Great Britain, so reasoned Francis, was utilizing high Russian officials in an effort to win the coveted commercial throne to which he and other Americans aspired. In short, the British were using all the resources at their command to "beat out" the Americans.

To his credit, the indefatigable Francis did not cease in his efforts to negotiate a new treaty subsequent to his initial rebuff by Sazonov. As long as Sazonov remained in office Francis continued to work and hope for the success of his trade treaty venture. Although his optimism had been somewhat dimmed, he still was confident of accomplishing his objective. He believed that Sazonov, alone among the government bureaucrats, was at least aware of the advantages that might accrue to such a treaty. Hence, Sazonov's dismissal as Foreign Minister was very disheartening, removing much of Francis's hope for success, at least in the immediate future.[71]

Apparently, by late summer and early fall, 1916, Francis was becoming more and more aware of the political realities attendant to the treaty problem. He was less prone to indulge in fanciful thinking and more willing to face the realities of the situation. First of all, Boris Stürmer, the new Foreign Minister, administered a subtle rebuff. Although Stürmer, allegedly pro-German, showed Francis the customary courtesies and even appeared to be interested in the projected treaty, he refused to act. Instead, he referred the Ambassador to Bark, the Minister of Finance. The latter likewise refused to commit himself, sending the frustrated businessman once again to Stürmer and stating that the general principles of a commercial treaty should be agreed upon between Francis and the Foreign Office. This accomplished, the Department of Finance would take up the details. So, obligingly, the American emissary returned to the Foreign Office, only to be told by the Assistant Minister M. Neuratov that the time was not propitious for agreeing upon general principles. It must have been quite obvious by now, even to Francis, that it would be virtually impossible to secure Rus-

70 Francis to Robert Lansing, February 1, 1917, Francis Collection. *Lansing Papers*, II, 322.

71 Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy*, 19–23.

sian acquiescence to a new treaty while the nation was still at war. Particularly was this true if the drafted treaty touched on the Jewish question.[72]

To add to Francis's consternation, the State Department accused him of violating precedence in establishing direct relations with the ministries of the Russian government instead of going through the Foreign Office.[73] To this charge he simply replied that he would be able to make little or no progress if his diplomatic relations were solely confined to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in view of the fact that Stürmer liked to "pass the buck" to other departments.[74]

A second reality Francis was forced to face was that American Jews would never accept a treaty which did not expressly mention the passport question. He was finally reconciled to the fact that it was not feasible to attempt to formulate a commercial treaty without specifically pacifying American Jewish interests. To make such a concession virtually amounted to an admission, on the part of Francis, that the Jews held the key to success or failure in this matter.[75]

To complicate the treaty issue further, both the Republican and Democratic parties had taken cognizance of the problem by referring to it in their party plaforms, as adopted by their respective conventions in 1916. Particularly was this true of the Republican party's platform which endorsed the abrogation of the treaty of 1832. Moreover, the party went on record as favoring a treaty that would recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination between American citizens, "whether native-born or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance."[76]

The plank in the Democratic party platform dealing with this issue was couched in more general terms. The Democrats declared that they supported the policy that no treaty with any government should receive the sanction of the American government which did not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all American citizens, "irrespective of race, creed, or previous nationality."[77] These

[72] Francis to William Phillips, October 16, 1916, Francis Collection. *Lansing Papers*, II, 311.
[73] Francis to William Phillips, October 16, 1916, Francis Collection.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] Francis to William J. Stone, June 20, 1916, Francis Collection.
[76] *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, Jefferson City, 1918, 351.
[77] *Ibid.*, 329.

declarations prompted Francis to conclude that the parties were angling for the Jewish vote, a factor which would further mitigate against the successful completion of his mission. That the projected treaty had become a political football was indeed a reality he had to concede.[78]

In spite of the ever increasing number of obstacles which stood between Francis and ultimate success, he did not give up in despair. Although he suffered many disappointments and setbacks which had a sobering effect upon him, he persevered to the bitter end—that is, to the time of the revolution of November, 1917. He continued to cherish the hope that he would succeed in obtaining the desired treaty at the close of the war, if not sooner. In a letter to William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, in February, 1917, Francis reiterated his undying devotion to the cause of American business interests in Russia. He wrote of the possibility that by the end of the war, commercial relations between Russia and the United States would be so well established and Russia would appreciate so highly the munitions of war and other goods received from America, that her friendship for the United States would enable him to mollify to a great degree the Russian prejudice against Jews. Moreover, he expressed the hope that he would be permitted to stay in Russia after the war so that he could be of service in cementing the commercial and diplomatic relations between the two countries.[79]

Meanwhile, the fall of the Romanov dynasty and the establishment of the Provisional Government in March, 1917, seemed to restore some of Francis's earlier enthusiasm as to the future of Russian-American commercial relations. He saw the advent of the Provisional Government as marking the beginning of a "new era" in Russian history, an opinion also shared by other Americans. However, he was able to restrain himself to the extent that he deemed it unsafe to negotiate a commercial treaty with the new regime, as it was only a temporary political arrangement. After the Constituent Assembly, to be chosen by universal suffrage, had met and had established a permanent government, then would he act with the greatest dispatch to negotiate a new treaty. To do so earlier, he conceded, would be useless.[80]

Much to the chagrin of Francis and of government officials

78 Francis to W. K. Bixby, September 4, 1916, Francis Collection.
79 Francis to William B. McAdoo, February 25, 1917, *ibid.*
80 Francis to William J. Stone, July 23, 1917, *ibid.*

in Washington, the heralded new era finally materialized, but its course and nature were not what they had confidently anticipated. The events of November, 1917, culminated in the establishment of an order, communist in orientation. Washington was bewildered, confused, and angered by the Bolshevik coup. Quickly it formulated a new Russian policy based upon the assumption that the Soviet Government would collapse. Washington pledged itself to do all in its power to aid any individual or group whose aim was the destruction of the new regime.[81] Francis likewise dedicated himself to the cause of counter-revolution, thus virtually abandoning his plans for a new treaty of commerce and navigation. Under no conditions was he willing to negotiate with the Bolsheviks. All of his energy and time were consumed in dealing with the various political problems which confronted him as he sought desperately to turn back the clock and undo the November Revolution.

Several years later, after the Ambassador's return to the United States, he was asked by the *New York Herald* to express his opinion on a projected trade agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States. He replied that, the United States, by entering into trade relations with Russia, would thereby strengthen the Bolshevik regime. The United States, he conjectured, would in effect assist in maintaining an experiment in government which "is the greatest failure in all history. . . ."[82] He concluded by stating unequivocally his opposition to any and all plans calling for the establishment of commercial relations between Russia and the United States: "I think it would be a grievous mistake for any government and a stultifying crime for our government to enter into trade relations with the Bolshevik Government of Russia."[83] So ended the saga of the American businessman's efforts to promote direct trade relations with the aid of a new commercial treaty.

Next in importance to a new treaty, Francis had placed the establishment of direct cable communication between Russia and America. The projected cable, he conjectured, would do much to promote direct trade between the two countries. It would eliminate Great Britain as an intermediary, making unnecessary the relaying of messages through England where they were subject to censorship, or even worse, never delivered. "Our English cousins," complained Francis, were making every effort to have all the supplies bought

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[81] Williams, *American-Russian Relations*, 105.

[82] Telegram, Francis to *New York Herald*, March 21, 1921, Francis Collection. Telegram, Francis to *New York Herald*, March 23, 1921, *ibid.*

[83] *Ibid.*

by Russia furnished by British merchants. In the event that the British could not supply them, but they were produced in America, Britain endeavored to have them purchased through her merchants, with the help of J. P. Morgan and Company. He hoped to remove the British as middlemen in part by the laying of a cable from some point on the North Atlantic coast of the United States to the northern coast of Russia, with Kola or Alexandrovsk as the likely Russian terminus.[84]

Francis made a considerable effort to work out the details of the cable project. He contacted Newcomb Carlton, President of Western Union Telegraph, who supplied much information pertinent to financing the project. Carlton estimated that the total cost would not exceed $6,000,000. Moreover, he stated that Western Union would be more than willing to lay the cable. Meanwhile, Francis also conferred with Russian officials, particularly Bark and Stürmer. Both, according to the Ambassador, endorsed the project without reservations and also agreed to have Russia defray half the cost. This, by Francis's own admission, was "a great achievement" on his part.[85]

The Ambassador also related his plan for a cable to the State Department, through Polk. In addition he was in communication with Senator Robert L. Owen, Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, who gave the project his wholehearted support and advised the State Department to this effect.[86] In the event that the Department did not chose to endorse the plan, Francis contemplated interesting private capital in the project, perhaps Western Union. If the latter or some other private firm refused, then he planned to organize, or have organized, a private company that would furnish half the capital required, Russia furnishing the other half of the cost.[87] Thus a plan was in readiness only to suffer the same fate as the projected treaty. As late as February, 1917, Francis was still confident that the Russo-American cable might materialize.[88] However, the upheavals of March and November, 1917, especially the latter, abruptly ended all plans of this nature by the determined Ambassador.

In addition to aggressive espousal of the treaty and cable projects,

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84 Francis to Woodrow Wilson, April 6, 1916, *ibid.* Francis to Robert L. Owen, October 3, 1916, *ibid.*
85 Francis to Robert L. Owen, October 26, 1916, *ibid.*
86 Robert L. Owen to Francis, November 29, 1916, *ibid.*
87 Francis to Robert L. Owen, October 3, 1916, *ibid.*
88 Francis to Woodrow Wilson, February 22, 1917, *ibid.*

Francis also felt it his duty to take an active part in advancing the cause of American trade with Russia. Although the promotion of trade within a foreign country was normally the function of the consular service, the Ambassador was determined to use his good offices to solicit trade for American firms. This he did with much zeal and enthusiasm despite the fact that the previous policy of American diplomats in Russia had been to "steer clear" of all commercial matters. He was so diligent in his efforts to promote trade that Lansing deemed it advisable to caution him. The warning was to the point that Francis "had too keen a scent for commerce to make an ideal diplomat,"[89] but as Francis later privately wrote, "such insinuations only amused me and had no effects upon my plans."[90]

Particularly did Francis overstep the bounds of propriety when he repeatedly used the Embassy mail pouch for commercial communications. State Department regulations specifically prohibited the use of the pouch for commercial matter, but Francis, by his own admission, so flagrantly violated these rules that he felt "somewhat guilty."[91] However, he persisted in this practice, despite regulations and warnings from the State Department and an occasional protest from his own conscience. While admitting that Secretary Lansing's warnings were "timely and just," he steadfastly refused to yield to them. Instead he tried to justify his actions.[92] In the first place, the fact that "all other" embassies and legations in Russia did not hesitate to use their respective pouches to promote commerce for their countries, warranted his activities of a similar nature.[93] And secondly, Francis turned Machiavellian and proclaimed that any use of the pouch was proper, in his judgment, if it promoted direct commercial relations between Russia and the United States.[94] However, all of his efforts in this direction too were brought to naught by the Bolshevik Revolution. The Revolution was the final blow to the dreams and aspirations of Francis and other Americans who optimistically viewed Russia as the land of opportunity for commercial and financial ventures in the post-war era.

In summation it can be said with equanimity and candor that, although Francis failed to satisfy his insatiable desire to promote closer economic ties between Russia and the United States, he did

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89 Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy,* 24–25.
90 *Ibid.,* 25.
91 Francis to Perry Francis, January 2, 1917, Francis Collection.
92 Francis to Robert Lansing, August 14, 1916, *ibid.*
93 Francis to Frank L. Polk, November 6, 1916, *ibid.*
94 *Ibid.*

not do so because of a lack of initiative or perseverance. A man less resolute would have given up in despair much earlier than November, 1917. However, it is interesting to pause for a moment and appraise the logic utilized by this effervescent American in arriving at his conclusions relative to the Russian attitude respectively toward Great Britain and the United States. If the majority of Russians, particularly the commercial classes, were unwilling to exchange the commercial yoke of Germany for the English, why should they be willing to swap their former yoke for the American? If the Russians, as Francis conjectured, really opposed commercial masters, by what coincidence would they be willing to accept American domination of their foreign trade? Obviously, it might be stated in rebuttal that Francis had no particular interest in seeing the United States become the commercial master of Russia. Nevertheless, when he proclaimed that Russia should be willing to grant to the United States the same commercial and financial favors at one time accorded the Germans, he at least inferred that American domination was not outside the realm of possibility. Furthermore, he contended that the United States had a right to this "commercial throne,"[95] further evidence that he envisioned American predominance in Russian foreign trade in the post-war period.

In the last analysis, Francis was primarily and exclusively a charming old gentleman who had proved himself in the business world. It would appear that Secretary Lansing aptly appraised the work of Francis in Russia when he warned the Ambassador that he had "too keen a scent for trade to be an ideal diplomat." Francis was first, last, and always a businessman, not a statesman and diplomat.

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95 Francis to John Sharp Williams, April 13, 1916, *ibid.*

The Louisiana American Party and the Catholic Church

It is widely believed among American historians that the Know-Nothing movement was anti-Catholic *except* in Louisiana. The presence of native-born Catholics as members and candidates of the American party, the speech of Charles Gayarré denouncing the anti-Catholic platform of the national party, and the exclusion of the anti-Catholic plank in the state party platform, are offered as proof. If there were a few anti-Catholic voices in the state party, they were unimportant. W. Darrell Overdyke, considered the outstanding authority on the American party in the South, states:

> Only in a few instances did the Americans in Louisiana indirectly criticize the Catholics, and in those cases they claimed they did not attack Catholicism but a secret political body within the Church grasping at temporal power—the Jesuits.[1]

While it is true that the American party in Louisiana never exhibited the anti- Catholicism of the national party, it did display its own brand of anti-Catholic polemics. It is hoped in this article to question the earlier interpretation of the Louisiana American party's position toward the Catholic Church by examining the relation of the Church and the party in New Orleans during the 1850's.

The Louisiana American party made a special appeal to enroll the support and leadership of the native-born Catholics—the so-called Creoles.[2] Accordingly, prominent candidates for state and national offices were frequently Creole Catholics. These candidates

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[1] W. Darrell Overdyke, "History of the American Party in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVI (April, 1933), 270. See also, Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South*, Baton Rouge, 1950, 219; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*, New York, 1938, 392; Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism*, New York, 1951, 296–297; John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*, New York, 1913, VIII, 229; Arthur Charles Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850–1865*, New York, 1934, 144–145; William B. Hesseltine, *A History of the South, 1607–1936*, New York, 1936, 392–393; Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, Durham, 1940, 303–304.

[2] Overdyke, "History of the American Party in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 267; *Semi-Weekly Creole*, December 23, 1854, January 10, 1855; *Propagateur Catholique*, July 7, 1855. All newspapers cited in this article were published in New Orleans.

and their Creole defenders insisted that the party was not anti-Catholic.[3]

From the point of view of a doctrinaire Catholic in New Orleans, the inclusion of the Creoles in the Know-Nothing movement was not much of a recommendation for the party. Thomas J. Semmes, a local Catholic, declared in 1855 that the "men among the native population are generally infidels, tho' the women are pious Catholics. [The men] are what might be termed liberals, and a vast number of them are Catholic in sentiment, tho' not, I am sorry to say, in practice."[4] According to another source, the Creole males viewed religion as the duty of women and children; a man had to appear in church only for his wedding and his funeral.[5] They cheerfully ignored church rules on attendance at mass, on reception of sacraments, and even on dueling.[6]

Some of the Creoles evinced a sort of watered-down, latter-day rationalism. P. G. T. Beauregard, who was considered a Catholic, contended that most religious speak "to the imagination more than to the reasoning faculties," though this he felt was hardly a catastrophe since few people could reason effectively anyway. He denied that miracles were manifestations of God's will: "men will more readily believe what is un-natural than what is perfectly simple and natural." If an individual was good and followed the Ten Commandments, Beauregard tolerantly declared, the matter of his religious affiliation was of small consequence.[7] Alexander Dimitry, another Catholic, who had been educated at Georgetown College, thought that all talk of conscience was "twaddle."

> . . . in my philosophy, conscience is mainly the result of a series of moral judgments ready made for us from infancy; and as the great and simple precept 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you' has branched out into a thousand complicated offshoots, each growing out of a very

[3] Overdyke, *Know-Nothing Party in the South*, 222; *Southern Standard*, August 26, 1855.

[4] Quoted in, Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life from 1845–1855*, Detroit, 1899, 608.

[5] Marie Fontenay, *L'Autre Monde*, Paris, 1855, 100. Even here orthodoxy was not always followed. Creoles often married in their own homes and were occasionally buried in non-Catholic cemeteries. [Mme Frédéric Allain] *Souveniers d'Amerique et de France par une Créole*, Paris, n.d., 198–199.

[6] Except for Dr. Charles Faget, an extremely devout Catholic, there is no record of a single Creole who refused an "honorable" duel. Edward Laroque Tinker, *Creole City: Its Past and Its People*, New York, 1953, 152–153.

[7] P. G. T. Beauregard to Major J. G. Barnard, November 16, 1853. Beauregard Papers, Archives of the Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

complicated social relations [sic], and as the tracing out of affinities and repulsions of these abstract notions implies no mean exercise of the mind; so I infer that the luxury of an e[n]lightened conscience is one of the privileges of a society of privileges, from which a large majority are excluded. With a great many of them the abstinence from evil results from the pithy and natural law: if you steal, they'll send you to the penitentiary; if you don't say your beads the Blessed Virgin won['t beg her Son for you; if you don't read the Bible . . . you shall surely go to hell.

Dimitry felt that the Divine Presence was found in nature and that the divine laws were the "law of mildness, the law of kindness, the law of love, the law of brotherhood."[8] Whatever validity Beauregard and Dimitry's ideas might have, they were certainly not inspired by Catholic theology.

Various important Creoles came into direct conflict with the hierarchy and the Catholic press over the trustee question, membership in secret societies, and in the pages of the French-language newspapers. The first of these issues, the trustee question, had been settled by 1850. After a protracted conflict during which the lay trustees of the St. Louis Cathedral had kept the Bishop out of his own church, the prelate finally gained control.[9] No schismatic Hoganites arose from among the lay trustees, as happened in Philadelphia, but the conflict did produce a good deal of bitterness. During the 1850's the trustees, shorn of their power, continued to serve, but in the newly constructed churches Archbishop Antoine Blanc refused to allow a lay trustee system.[10] He preferred opening small parishes accountable to, and owned by, himself in order to counter whatever influence the Cathedral trustees might still exert.[11]

Though American Catholic participation in the Masonic order had been forbidden by American bishops at different times after 1836, it was not universally forbidden by the Papacy until 1869. However, before this, membership by a Catholic was never regarded as a sign of a devoted son of the Church. It was with the

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[8] Alexander Dimitry to N. R. Jennings, February 20, 1851. Hennen-Jennings Papers, 1840–1859, Archives of the Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge.

[9] Alfonso Comeau C.S.C., "A Study of the Trustee Problem in the St. Louis Cathedral Church of New Orleans," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (October, 1948), 907–963.

[10] The trustees had the right to the temporal administration of the Cathedral until 1871. Louis J. Loewenstein, *History of the St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans*, New Orleans, 1882, 51.

[11] John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843, to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1860*, New York, 1892, 268.

Masons and other secret societies in mind that Archbishop Blanc proclaimed in 1860:

> you cannot take part in those societies which are based on naturalism, or rationalism, or an imagined natural religion, and which regard as uncertain or unnecessary the revelations which God has made to man. . . . You are likewise bound to keep aloof from societies which require an oath of initiation of members, that they may more effectively conceal the purposes for which the association is designed.[12]

Open Anti-Catholic attitudes on the part of elements in the local Freemasonry were not unknown. The ritual used by a Spanish-speaking Masonic lodge was rabidly anti-clerical, fulminating frequently against "la Intolerencia, la Superstición, y el Fanatismo" of the Roman Catholic Church.[13] Violent anti-Catholic speeches at major Masonic affairs were given,[14] and the "Masonic Baptisms" held at the Foyer Maçonique lodge must have struck Bishop Blanc as a sacrilege second only to the hated Black Mass.[15] Nonetheless, in spite of the secret oaths and the covert anti-Catholic disposition of the Masonic order, French Creoles were important in the development and the membership of New Orleans Freemasonry. In 1850, for example, three of the Cathedral trustees were members of the Masonic order and one was an Odd Fellow.[16] The Parfaite Union and Polar Star lodges included many Creoles, most of whom, it is assumed, were associated with the Catholic Church. This dual allegiance of the Creoles to the Church and to the Masons probably did nothing to convince the Bishop of their true Catholicism.

The French immigrant and Creole newspaper editors at times

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[12] *Catholic Standard*, February 5, 1860. There were frequent papal condemnations of European Freemasonry beginning as early as 1738, for which see Herman Gruber, "Masonry" in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913, Vol. IX, 786–787.

[13] *Grado Vigesimo de la Mazoneria Escocesa Y Segundo del Consejo de Kadosch* (New Orleans?, n.d.), 371.

[14] *Ancient and Accepted Rite, Thirtieth Degree: Rite Ancien et Accepté Trentieme*, New Orleans, 1857, 149–175. These pages contain a bitter anti-Catholic peroration by a visiting Illinois Mason, Charles Laffon de Ladebat. Albert Pike, the Arkansas Masonic leader, also attacked the Church in New Orleans. *Southern Standard*, September 9, 1855.

[15] *Weekly Delta*, October 27, 1851.

[16] *Proceedings of the M . . . W . . . Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Louisiana from 22d June, 5850, to February 25, 5851*, New Orleans, 1851, 5–9; *I.O.O.F. Proceedings of the Right Worthy and Grand Lodge of the State of Louisiana Held in the City of New Orleans From 23d July, 1855 to 7th February, 1860*, New Orleans, 1861, 330. In 1843 the President of the Board of Cathedral Trustee was the Grand Master of the Foyer Maçonique lodge. Over the Bishop's protest the lodge erected a Masonic tomb in the St. Louis cemetery. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1843–1866*, 267.

vehemently castigated the Church for being reactionary, anti-republican, Machiavellian, ultramontane, and abolitionist.[17] In turn the Catholic newspaper, *Propagateur Catholique,* accused the editors of being infidels, socialists, and even Albigensians.[18] "Catholic vous même! Cher *Courier!*" Abbé Perché, the editor of the Propagateur Catholique, caustically wrote; "Vous êtes maladroitement hypocrite, et voila tout."[19]

Bishop Blanc of New Orleans was aware of the questionable Catholicism of many of the Creoles. In 1844, six years before becoming Archbishop, he reported to the Holy See:

> It is highly important to the interest of religion in New Orleans to uphold especially the influence of the Catholic portion which speaks English. That portion will always sustain the Bishop.[20]

In the same year he wrote to a fellow Bishop: "The Irish and Americans have always sustained us and will be always in [sic] the side of authority."[21] Though not always examples of angelic purity, there is no evidence that the local Germans and Irish doubted the validity of the faith or the authority of its officials.

The Louisiana American party's defense of its plank to limit immigration quite naturally embittered the Irish and German Catholics toward the Creoles. Certainly the Irish were not altogether pleased to read in the official Know-Nothing press that they, the Irish, were "bound with the iron shackles of an odious spiritual tyranny."[22] Nor were the local Teutonic Catholics treated lightly. "The absolute ignorance of the Roman Catholic portion of German emigrants taken as a mass is only equaled by their subservience to their spiritual guides."[23] To the Irish and German Catholics these attacks seemed to prove the lacklustre character of Creole Catholicism. They reasoned that in view of the large-scale Catholic immigration, the Creoles were in reality attempting

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17 *L'Orleanais,* February 10, March 31, April 27, 1852; *Propagateur Catholique,* April 17, 26, June 28, 1851.

18 *Propagateur Catholique,* August 2, 1851, October 20, 1855.

19 *Ibid.,* January 15, 1853.

20 Quoted in Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1843–1866,* 268.

21 Quoted in *ibid.,* 270. The German Catholics never questioned the hierarchial authority, though they were insistent on national churches. B. J. Krieger, C.Ss.R., *Seventy-Five Years of Service,* New Orleans, 1923, 21.

22 *Semi-Weekly Creole,* February 21, 1855. Statements of this nature were found in almost every issue of this newspaper and in the *Daily Creole* and *American Exponent.*

23 *Semi-Weekly Creole,* February 7, 1855.

to limit the growth of the American Catholic Church;[24] "exclusion pour les Catholiques étrangers," stated a local Catholic editor, "injure sanglante pour les Catholiques Américaines;"[25] and an English-language Catholic newspaper stated that the "war against foreigners is little more than a pretext. War to Catholicism is the true aim and object" of the American party.[26]

But in addition to the hostility of the Know-Nothing Creoles to the Church, there was an established anti-Catholicism in New Orleans, as elsewhere, which laid the way for the Know-Nothing movement. There had been nativist agitation in New Orleans as early as 1835, and in 1849 an anti-Catholic mob destroyed the office of the *Propagateur Catholique*.[27] Even the ubiquitous E. Z. C. Judson had visited New Orleans with some hope of fostering local anti-Catholic feeling.[28]

The growth of a Protestant middle class in New Orleans did much to build a reservoir of anti-Catholicism in the city. Often coming from New England and isolated from the older upper-class Americans, they undoubtedly felt insecure in a population where Catholics outnumbered Protestants. Certainly two decades of anti-Catholic agitation in the United States had insured that it would not take much to enkindle the always smouldering No-Popery feeling of many American Protestants. This anti-Catholicism in New Orleans was probably accentuated by several minor irritants to doctrinaire Protestants. Among them were the presence of a large number of Catholic priests (including the Jesuits!) and nuns; the adverse affects on business of the "Catholic absurdities of Lent;"[29] open religious parades and services; the public proclamation by the Bishop of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and an extensive church ceremony connected with the pastoral announcement;[30] the superior attitude taken by Catholic speakers like

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[24] *Propagateur Catholique*, August 5, 1854, July 21, 1855; *Southern Standard*, June 3, July 8, 22, August 19, October 7, 1855; *Louisiana Courier*, May 27, 31, 1856.

[25] *Propagateur Catholique*, July 21, 1855.

[26] *Southern Standard*, July 1, 1855.

[27] Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, 132; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1843–1866*, 273.

[28] Jay Monaghan, *The Great Rascal*, Bantam Books edition, New York, 1953, 170.

[29] "Thomas K. Wharton Diary, 1852–1862" (New York Public Library, Division of Manuscripts; microfilm copy in archives of the Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University), April 22, 1854, April 6, 1855; *Weekly Mirror*, April 16, 1859.

[30] *Propagateur Catholique*, May 19, 1855; *Le Spiritualiste*, I (1857), 264. This doctrine was especially obnoxious to the Protestants because it was a doctrine all of them opposed and it indirectly affirmed the idea of Papal infallibility.

Orestes A. Brownson, editors like Abbé Perché, and even the common immigrant layman;[31] and the belief that the Catholic Church was opposed to the Bible, the source of Christian morality and Republican virtue.[32]

The major form of anti-Catholicism was stimulated by the belief that the Catholic Church was somehow responsible for the city's indifference to a Christian observance of the Sabbath. Certainly to a devout Protestant, nurtured as he was on a rigid adherence to the Sabbath, a New Orleans Sunday had all the fascination of a box seat on the edge of the Inferno.[33] One Protestant minister proclaimed:

> Think of Paul in Athens! how his spirit was stirred there! Were he to rise in this century and take a walk through this metropolis, would there be nothing to stir his spirit? Let him go about of a Sunday night. The few churches tolerably full to be sure, but room for more. There is Fowler, the phrenologist giving the religion of the bumps at Odd-felows Hall; Christie's or Campbell's Minstrels, laughing and singing in burnt cork at the Armory; grand opera at the Orleans—perhaps 'Les Hugenots' on the bill; horse-riding at the Ampitheatre by Miss Somebody; St. Charles full from pit to gallery; Varieties ditto; and so on for a full page. The world is not saved yet. These civilized heathen are hard to pluck from the burning; easier to save Chinese or Mexicans.[34]

In the eyes of stricter Protestants not only were operas, theatres, dances, open coffee houses, bull and bear fights, and horse races inadmissible on Sunday, but so were parades, concerts, lectures, balloon ascensions, cricket matches, and lodge anniversaries.[35] Such Sabbath amusements, an American party journal claimed,

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[31] Robert C. Reinders, "Orestes A. Brownson's Visit to New Orleans, 1855," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (July, 1955), 11–17; *Weekly Delta*, February 6, 1853. On one occasion an elder of a Protestant church delivering tracts in an Irish neighborhood was bodily thrown out of a house by an Irishman. The newspaper writer who reported this incident bitterly queried whether "our coleporteurs are to be beat by ragmuffins and anathematized by priests?" *Semi-Weekly Creole*, June 30, 1855.

[32] Rev. I. J. Henderson, *Our Republic's Glory and Safety: A Sermon Delivered July 9, 1854, in the Prytania Street Church*, New Orleans, 1854, 4–9. Henderson, a local Presbyterian minister, considered "Romanism" a "counterfeit" religion which threatened the purity of the American republic. See also, *Semi-Weekly Creole*, January 3, 1855, February 7, 1856.

[33] For contemporary pictures of Sabbath violations see Mattie Wood Dugdale, "Travellers Views of Louisiana before 1860," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1938), 67–70.

[34] Charles B. Galloway, *The Editor-Bishop Linus Parker, His Life and Writings*, Nashville, 1886, 57–58. See also a sermon of a Rev. Scott printed in the *Weekly Delta*, December 19, 1852.

[35] *Semi-Weekly Creole*, February 7, 14, 17, 21, March 28, 31, April 28, May 19, August 25, 1855; *Daily Picayune*, February 11, 1860; Wharton Diary, February 27, 1854, March 4, 1855.

seemed to "blunt the moral sensibilities of our citizens."[36] Since by tradition the Catholic Church (and the Lutheran) had no opposition to harmless pleasures on the Lord's Day, it was only logical to assume that the Sabbath breakdown in New Orleans could be attributed to Catholic and Lutheran attitudes.[37]

> This disregard of the Sabbath is not of American origin. It cannot date back to the time when stern, indomitable men planted seeds of empire in the wilderness, or heroes nurtured its growth in the times of revolutionary struggle.[38]

No better proof of the anti-Catholic attitude in the city need be offered than to present a few characteristic quotations from the American party press. For example, the Papacy was subject to bitter Know-Nothing abuse. According to the *Crescent,* the Papacy "has always lived on bayonets—on those of Charlemagne, or Francis, or Charles, or Napoleon."[39] The *Semi-Weekly Creole* was even more virulent: "The papal power through the world may be traced in lines of blood." This newspaper insisted that the Pope's temporal power was a challenge to the American legal system; indeed a Papal conspiracy threatened the existence of American freedom. "The Pope is the *presiding general* of the army . . . the archbishops, priests, and curates are the subordinate officers, and that includes the whole body of Catholic Irish, [which] could be moved by a nod and made to act in any manner by a wink of the *General,* the Pope. . . ."[40] The hierarchy in America who led these "superstitious Catholics" also came under the guns of the American press.

> The Catholic hierarchy has interfered, opposing our public school system—absorbing all church property, contrary to the genius of our laws, and accepting titles and receiving investitures unknown to republican usages.[41]

The priests, particularly the Jesuits, kept their ignorant flock under a "spiritual and civil depotism" readying them for the day of "universal domination."[42]

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36 *Semi-Weekly Creole,* February 21, 1855.
37 *Ibid.,* September 22, 1855.
38 *Ibid.,* February 21, 1855.
39 *Daily Crescent,* April 19, 1855. Though not an official Know-Nothing organ, the *Crescent* supported the American party in New Orleans from 1854 to 1860.
40 *Semi-Weekly Creole,* November 4, 1854, January 13, 1855.
41 *Ibid.,* June 27, 1855.
42 *American Exponent,* January 5, 1856; *Semi-Weekly Creole,* February 21, 1855.

The charges of the Know-Nothing press were answered in the local Catholic newspapers, which never doubted that the American party in Louisiana was anti-Catholic. The *Southern Standard,* an English-language Catholic bi-weekly, held the view that "it is impossible for any Catholic . . . to give his support [to the] American party." The Know-Nothing movement "has no other origin than this hatred to Catholicism, and . . . it has no other reason to exist." The editor warned his readers that "any Catholic, who, by his vote, contributes to the success of the Know Nohings in Louisiana, aims a blow at the Church itself, and aids and abets the enemies of the Church. . . ."[43] The French-language paper, while less interested in the local political scene and somewhat defensive of the Creoles, followed the views of its English-language counterpart. Abbé Perché admitted that "dans la Louisiane, comme dans les autres Etats, la proscription du Catholicisme est le principal objet des Know-Nothings." Furthermore the editor states:

> Les Catholiques surtout comprenant qu'ils ne peuvent rester dans une société dont objet avoué est la destruction du Catholicisme; et on ne peut plus se dissimuler maintenant que l'espirit du parti est le même en Louisiane que partout ailleurs. . . .[44]

Both papers attacked the statements of the American party candidates, especially the Creole candidates, but only the *Southern Standard* urged its readers to vote Democratic.

The controversy was strongest between the years 1854–1856. By the later part of the decade the anti-Catholic crusade in New Orleans had all but vanished. Under the leadership of Gerard Stith, the American party was transformed from a vehicle of nativism to a mere political machine.[45] Furthermore, the slavery issue tended to unite all conservative elements in the city. Religious quarrels were forgotten as the Civil War approached. Roman Catholic officials, with their stress on "fixed conservative principles" were in accord with the dominant Southern conservatism.[46] There was no fear that the Catholic Church harbored abolition sentiments. Slavery was sanctioned by religious authorities and

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[43] *Southern Standard,* July 1, 15, 29, 1855.
[44] *Propagateur Catholique,* October 6, 1855, September 8, 1855. The above statements in these Catholic newspapers are not isolated, but typical of many others.
[45] *Daily Orleanian,* May 27, 1856; *Daily Delta,* May 31, 1860.
[46] *Southern Standard,* February 10, 1856.

priests, and religious orders owned slaves.[47] In 1860, at a provincial council, the wrath of God was called down on John Brown and like-minded fanatics, and loyalty to the Southland was affirmed.[48]

From the above it can be observed that the American party in New Orleans was anti-Catholic and that, in spite of the presence of Creole Catholics in the party, it was recognized as such by the Catholic press. Why then the confusion over the relations between the American party and the Catholic Church in Louisiana?

There are at least two reasons. Firstly, Overdyke in his study of the Know-Nothing movement in Louisiana did not utilize the files of the *American Exponent, Semi-Weekly Creole, Daily Creole, Southern Standard,* and *Propagateur Catholique,* which were the principal debators in New Orleans. Overdyke employed the *Picayune* and *Crescent* which were generally in accord with the policy of the American party, but which, with the exception of a few brief articles in the *Crescent,* were not given to anti-Catholic polemics. He did notice that Democrat papers contended that the Louisiana American party retained the anti-Catholicism of its parent body, but dismissed such accusations as political propaganda.[49] Overdyke's failure to use the more controversy-prone organs of the American party in New Orleans is perhaps inexcusable; however he is not to be blamed for overlooking the Catholic papers, the location of which, until quite recently, was hardly known.[50]

Secondly, Overdyke and others were unaware of the class relations in New Orleans in the 1850's. By this decade a fairly homogeneous upper class, composed of wealthy Americans and Creoles, had been formed. The older polarizations of the city between Creole and American, uptown and downtown, had little significance. The upper class was resentful of the growing political influence of the Irish and German immigrants who would, it was feared, be marshalled to the polls by the Democratic party, particularly that element of the Democratic party who looked to Pierre Soulé for

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47 *Ibid.*, June 3, 1855, January 20, 1856; *The Ursulines in New Orleans and Our Lady of Prompt Succor: A Record of Two Centuries, 1727–1927,* New York, 1925, 94–96.

48 *Daily Picayune,* February 1, 1860; *Catholic Standard,* February 5, 1860.

49 Overdyke, "History of the American Party in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XVI, 267.

50 Except for a few isolated issues, there is no reference to these papers for this period in the *Union List of Serials.* At the time Overdyke prepared his study, incomplete runs of these papers were kept in the Chancery Office of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. They are now in the library of the Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans.

leadership. Whether Whig, American, or "Independent" party movements, the merbership and the goal—prevention of an immigrant-based political machine—were similar[51] Within the Catholic Church these class divisions were undoubtedly reflected. The growing number of immigrant Catholics, enjoying the obvious sympathy of the Bishop, might well have added an incentive for the Creoles to support and participate in the American party.

Robert C. Reinders

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51 After Gerard Stith began to recruit Germans in the American party, former Americans joined with Old Line Whigs and conservative (Slidell) Democrats in 1858 to run an "independent" candidate, P. G. T. Beauregard. The Independents lost badly due to Stith's organizing abilities and their own ineptitude. James Kimmins Greer, *Louisiana Politics, 1845–1861*, Baton Rouge, 1930, 172–174.

Spanish Socialists and the Spanish-American War

A Note

Split by the struggle between anarchists and socialists, the working class movement was slow to achieve political success in Spain. It was not until May 2, 1879, that a disciplined party with a pure Marxian program was organized by Pablo Iglesias Posse, a typographer who was destined to become the outstanding personality in Spanish socialism. To attract the working class vote was a formidable undertaking for the mass of the Spaniards were neither prepared nor encouraged to participate in the political life of the nation. The Conservative and Liberal parties, both accepting the monarchy, had agreed upon a system of rotation in office, which was maintained by electoral corruption.[1] Social reform in this stagnant and unhealthy political atmosphere had little chance of success. Only in the last decade of the century did the tide begin to turn in favor of socialism with the shock administered to the regime by the American war.

Initially more than half of the members of the Partido socialista obrero were grouped in Madrid and the movement developed slowly in the provinces. The strength of the party lay in its control of the Unión General de Trabajadores, which represented the urban workers of northern and central Spain. In 1891, the party resolved to fight in the local elections and succeeded in electing five representatives to communal assemblies. In 1893 Socialist candidates received 7,000 votes, in 1896 14,000, in 1898 20,000, and in 1899 23,000.[2] At the same time membership in the U. G. T. rose from 6,000 to 26,000. In large part this steady advance in socialist strength may be credited to their success in exploiting the disasters brought on by the intransigence of Spanish colonial policies.

From the outbreak of the Cuban insurrection the Socialists—almost alone among the opposition groups—took the lead in castigating this needless and unpopular struggle.[3] Conscientious work-

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1 For a description of the Spanish party system on the eve of the Cuban rebellion, see Gumersindo de Azcarate: "Les partis politiques en Espagne," *Revue de droit public et de la science politique* V (1892), 1–22.

2 *El Socialista,* May 1, 1902.

3 Among the Republican leaders, only Francisco Pi y Margall spoke out in favor of Cuban arpirations. For an account of his activities, see Juan M. Dihigo y Mestre, "Pi y Marrgall y la revolucion cubana," *Academia de la historia de Cuba Publicaciones,* XXXV (1928), 1–22.

ers, Pablo Iglesias asserted, can not be participants in Cuba, since no one should be governed against his will.[4] In July, 1896, the National Council of the Party called upon the Spanish people to throw off the indifference with which they viewed this "bloody and sordid" contest.[5] Anti-militarist and internationalist in attitudes, the socialists were quick to censure the actions of their government and to champion the interests of the oppressed people of the Antilles. At the fourth congress of the International Workingman's Association, held in London that year, the Spanish delegation, lead by Iglesias, was the first to support a motion of sympathy for all peoples fighting against colonialism.[6]

The Socialist leaders objected particularly to the practice of allowing the sons of wealthy families to purchase exemption from military service, thus throwing the burden of the war on the disinherited class. "It is a pity," an editorial in *El Socialista,* the official organ of the Socialist Party, commented, "that private soldiers can not, like their superiors, obtain the absolute dispensation releasing them from risking their lives in a war that is in no one's interest."[7] By the end of 1897, it was estimated by labor leaders that 240,000 workers had been sent to Cuba and the Philippines, 50,000 of whom were already casualties in Cuba.[8] Seeking to remedy this abuse, the Central Committee of the Party organized a nationwide series of protest meetings in which a large segment of the working class took part.[9] Over thirty meetings were held in the autumn of 1897 and a petition was prepared for presentation to the head of the government. Subsequently Iglesias, Pablo Cermeno, and Juan Morato met with Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, the president of the Council of Ministers, who promised to see that the privilege was abolished—a promise reluctantly given and soon forgotten.[10]

As doctrinaire Marxists, Iglesias and his followers stressed the economic causes of the Cuban crisis, which, they asserted, "is a war for the possession of the Cuban market heretofore monopolized

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[4] Isaac Pacheco, *Pablo Iglesias,* Buenos Aires, 1943, 38.

[5] Juan Jose Morato, *El partido socialista obrero,* Madrid, 1918, 206.

[6] *Les congres socialistes internationaux, ordres du jour et résolutions,* Gand, 1902, 29. Juan José Morato, *Pablo Iglesias, educador y muchedumbres,* Madrid, 1931, 140.

[7] Morato, *El partido socialista,* 206.

[8] *El Socialista,* October 1, 1897.

[9] The progress of this campaign was described at length in the Socialist Press and its results were reported to the Paris Congress of the International in *Le parti socialiste ouvrier espagnol au congres international de Paris de 1900,* Madrid, 1900, 2–3.

[10] Morato, *Pablo Iglesias,* 142.

for national production."[11] Spain, or rather its dominant class, was primarily opposed to political reforms in Cuba because they might interfere with their control of Cuban trade. Though the American interventionists manifested an humanitarian sympathy for the people of the Antilles, their motives were essentially those of the Spanish bourgeoisie. "The United States has not promoted and aided the Cuban insurrectionary movement in order to make the people of Cuba freer and more prosperous," an editorial in *El Socialista* declared, "but rather to become the masters of the economy of a free and independent Cuba."[12] In the socialist press America was pictured as a land of extremes of wealth and poverty, where misery reigned among the laborers of Pittsburg and Chicago.

To the Spanish socialists as to their American comrades it was obvious that the workingmen of both countries would be the losers in this war.[13] Unless the socialists of both nations hold firm against the greed of the ruling class, they argued, there is little prospect of avoiding a disastrous conflict. On the very eve of the war with America the Spanish Socialist Party, proclaiming the solidarity of the working class, sent "words of love to their brothers in America."[14] When the war came, they worked, as true defenders of peace, to end it as quickly as possible.[15] Condemning equally the pettiness of the Spaniards and the insatiable lust for power of the American capitalists, they urged the workers to hold mass meetings demanding peace from the government. A quick peace, Iglesias pointed out, might save at lease part of the Empire.

While the effect of this agitation on the outcome of the war was negligible, its importance to the development of the reform movement in Spain should not be under-estimated. Beyond any doubt this bitter controversy over the Cuban rebellion fixed in the popular imagination the role of the Socialist party as the champion of the laboring class and pointed the way to their eventual triumph under the Republic.

JACK ALDEN CLARKE

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University of Wisconsin

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11 *El Socialista*, February 26, 1897.
12 *Ibid.*, February 25, 1898.
13 For the attitude of the American socialists toward the war, see Howard H. Quint, "American Socialists and the Spanish-American War," *American Quarterly* X, (1958), 131–141.
14 *El Socialista*, April 8, 1898.
15 *Ibid.*, May 6, June 3, July 8, August 26, 1898.

Book Reviews

Indian Villages of the Illinois Country: Historic Tribes. Scientific Papers, Vol. II, Part 2. By Wayne C. Temple. Illinois State Museum, Springfield, 1958. Pp. 218). (Paperbound) $3.50.

This book is intended as a sequel to Sarah Jones Tucker's unbound map collection published under a similar title in 1942. Dr. Temple, recently curator of ethnohistory at the Illinois State Museum, has tackled the difficult task of assembling data on the location, at various times, and the population of the historic tribes occupying the Illinois country and adjacent areas. Anyone who knows how mobile the Indians were, and the confusing nomenclature used in some early accounts, will realize the difficulties of compiling such a record.

Archaeological data concerning prehistoric tribes is of course outside the scope of this work, while ethnological and linguistic information is held to a minimum. Neither can one find here a general history of the tribes dealt with, for that too is outside the limits chosen, even though some fragmentary information on the foregoing is mixed in. Temple has produced what is primarily a location study of tribes wholly or partly resident in Illinois since the middle of the seventeenth century, and fills some of the gaps left by Bushnell's earlier study on *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi.* Tribes dealt with are the Iliniwek, Miami, Sauk-Fox, Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Shawnee, Delaware, Winnebago, and Menominee. The author provides extensive documentation, a bibliography, and five illustrations. The study could be a valuable contribution to the field of Indian history.

Unfortunately, the value of the work is depreciated by numerous errors and faults. Some must be indicated, even at the risk of making this review seem of the pedantic, nit-picking type. In a number of instances there is a want of geographical precision. The author speaks of the junction of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee rivers (pp. 132, 146) and of the confluence of the Kankakee and Illinois (pp. 131, 158). These two places are identical, since the Des Plaines and Kankakee meet to form the Illinois. The village of Main Poche is placed "on the Huron River, twenty miles from Amhurstburg, Michigan." This should be spelled Amherstburg, and it is in Ontario, not Michigan.

It is asserted that "in 1950 there were Potawatomi reservations in Kansas and Nebraska, with a total population of 811," (p. 155). There is not and there has never been a Potawatomi reservation in Nebraska. Moreover, there are more than 4,000 Potawatomi living on reservations or allotted lands in tribal communities in Oklahoma, Kansas, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ontario. A handful of urban Potawatomi live in Chicago and Milwaukee.

There are two Vermilion Rivers in Illinois, one tributary to the Illinois, the other flowing to the Wabash. The author speaks several times of "the Vermilion" without indicating which stream is meant.

It is said that the United States Kickapoo reside mostly in Oklahoma, (p. 172). The footnote source given at the end of the sentence, (Ritzenthaler and Peterson) makes no such statement but refers to a preceding point about the location of the Mexican Kickapoo. The fact is, the Kansas Kickapoo are more numerous than those in Oklahoma.

The author states that Lake Koshkonong, and the four lakes around Madison, together form the headwaters of the Rock River, (p. 190). Actually, Lake Koshkonong is a wide place in the Rock River, the four lakes are tributary waters, and the sources of the river are in Fond du Lac County, some seventy miles northeast of Madison.

The author claims that the Illinois river was once called the Chicago, (p. 12). His reference, (in *Jesuit Relations*) contains no such statement, but refers instead to an earlier remark in the same sentence, concerning Chief Chikagou. If the footnote was intended to apply only to the first statement, it should not appear after the second. No source or map I have ever seen, including those in the Tucker collection, calls the Illinois River the Chicago. There are several maps which call the *Des Plaines* River by that name, but the name changes to Illinois, Divine, or Outrelaize below the confluence with the Kankakee. Hennepin said that the Illinois gave the name "Checagou" to Fort Crevecoeur, (*New Discovery,* I, 170) but says no more about that.

It is claimed that the Potawatomi removed west in 1837 were mostly from north of Chicago (p. 154), but the fact is that they were all from the south and east of Chicago.

There are some confusing identifications. Chief Chicago (Chikagou, etc.) is correctly called a Michigamea on pages 12 and 41, but is erroneously described as a Tamaroa on page 47. Again, when speaking of Marquette's supposed meeting with the Michigamea, Temple first calls them by that name, then switches in the same paragraph to the name Arkansas, which is one name for the Quapaw. This band may have indeed been Quapaw, since only one of them could speak Illinois, but Temple, after noting the belief of Delanglez that they were in fact Quapaw, leaves the reader in confusion on the subject.

He sometimes uses the name *Illini* for the *Illinois* or *Iliniwek* (or *Illiniwek,* or more exactly, *Ininiwek,* since this tribe had no "l" sound). He explains that this is to avoid confusion since the name Illinois was used loosely in reference to other tribes. But many tribal names have been carelessly used and the problem is not solved by compounding confusion. *Illini,* with its Latin ending, is the name of a football team, not an Indian tribe. The French or aboriginal name is to be preferred.

St. Vrain is suddenly mentioned (p. 120) with no information as to his identity. Are most readers expected to know that Felix St. Vrain was the Indian agent at Rock Island in 1832? Furthermore "Blackbird" is called an Ottawa chief (correctly, p. 134) but five pages later "Black Bird" (now two words) is transformed into a Potawatomi. Moreover, Shabbona is called an Ottawa, an Ottawa chief, and a principal chief of the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa confederacy, (pp. 135, 146). His father was an Ottawa, but he was a chief in the Potawatomi tribe,

having married a chief's daughter. The "three fires," though once united, did not recognize any common leadership in historic times. The government, for its own convenience, at treaty councils, preserved the farce of a confederacy of the three tribes.

Alexander Robinson is called half Chippewa, (p. 146). He was half white and half Ottawa, according to Hodge and other sources. Temple cites no source for his statement. Then, White Crow (Kau-ree-kaw-see-kaw) is falsely described as a Potawatomi chief (p. 149) but he is later transformed (p. 192) into a Winnebago, which is correct. His Indian name, even in the first mention, is given in the Winnebago language. White Crow, the Winnebago, is mentioned by Mrs. Kinzie in *Wau-Bun*. There was no Potawatomi chief of this name, although that tribe had a White Pigeon, or *Wapmeme*.

It is alleged that the Fox were called "Outagami" because they were sly and cunning, and that for this reason the French called them Renards, or Foxes. The fact is that Outagami (or *Utagamig*) signifies "people of the other shore," a designation given by the Chippewa, because of their location on Green Bay; (Jones, Verwyst). The Algonquin word for Fox is Waukesha and its variants, Waukesheg, etc. Cadillac thought the tribe was called Fox because of their cunning, but William Jones declared the name arose from confusing the name of one of the clans with that of the tribe.

The name of Wapello (or Waballo), a Fox chief, is mistranslated as "playing Fox," (pp. 113, 116). The syllable *wab* or *wap* in Algonquin tongues of this region generally means white, e.g., *Wab*ash, "white river," *Wap*meme, "white pigeon." It can also mean "dawn," (Waubonsee), or "the east," (Waban, or easterners, Wabanaki). Wapello's name is variously translated in treaties, but the most likely is that given in the treaty of September 10, 1832: "he who is painted white." Edward Davenport, chief of the Tama Foxes, tells me there is no "l" sound in Fox, and that Wabano is the correct form of the name.

Among miscellaneous errors, Temple claims that the Mascouten "signed no treaties with the United States where a study of their names and language could be made," (p. 156). The Mascouten, however, with other Wabash tribes, were among the 31 signers of the treaty signed with Gen. Rufus Putnam at Vincennes, September 27, 1792. This was not ratified by the Senate, and therefore not published in some sources; the document, and Putnam's account of the proceedings, are contained in *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam,* 1903. Unfortunately the signers names are not published there but the original papers are at Marietta College. This treaty, oddly enough, is mentioned in another connection by Dr. Temple on page 70.

Temple wonders (pp. 149-50) why the "three fires" of Illinois were "so anxious to fight against Black Hawk's Sauk and Fox." Actually, it was mainly the half-breed chiefs, and a few followers, especially those bribed with private reservations at the treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829, who were so willing to help the United States. The bulk of the young warriors were so restless to join Black Hawk that Robinson, Sauganash, and Shabbona asked J. V. Owen, Chicago Indian agent, to call a council

to harangue them, and further proposed that the young men be confined under guard on the Des Plaines River. The band of forty Indians who killed 15 (or 16, the monument indicates) people at Indian Creek on May 21 and then joined Black Hawk with the two Hall girls as captives, were nearly all Potawatomi.

The Potawatomi treaties of September 26 and 27, 1832, are thoroughly confused by Temple. The deadline for removal of the Illinois Potawatomi was set in the first treaty, not the second. The latter document was entirely concerned with the Michigan bands of Potawatomi.

Prophetstown was burned on May 14, 1832, not on May 10 as stated, (p. 194). *Iliniwek* is a plural word, and uses the verb *were* and not *was,* (p. 37 et. al.). "Number" should be past tense, "numbered," on p. 113. Typographical errors, no doubt due to careless proofreading, include Chatress for Chatres, cheif for chief, Corghan for Croghan, and visted for visited.

Last for omissions, the site of the Foxes' massacre by the French and allies in September, 1730, is disputed, but Temple accepts the Vermilion River of the Illinois as most likely. He mentions the claims made for McLean County, but ignores entirely the strong case made for a site near Plano by John F. Steward in *Lost Maramech* (1903). Nor is there mention in the volume of the alleged massacre of the Illinois on Starved Rock in 1769. While Governor Reynolds did not believe this story, the claims made for it have been upheld by Gurdon S. Hubbard, John D. Caton, Harry L. Spooner, and others, including the somewhat less reliable Matson. Each pleaded the testimony of Indian witnesses. Such an important controversy at least deserves discussion. Finally, the account of the Sauks, which is partly historical, makes no mention of the skirmishes of Credit Island and Campbell's Island in 1814, or the manner in which Keokuk rose to chieftainship.

This reviewer is left with the uncomfortable feeling that there may be other defects beyond those indicated. Nevertheless he feels that the work contains enough useful information so that, if it is carefully checked and revised, it may yet stand as a valuable contribution to the aboriginal history of the middle west.

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Chicago Giant, A Biography of "Long John" Wentworth. By Don E. Fehrenbacher. The American History Research Center, Madison, Wisconsin, 1957. Pp. viii, 278. $4.50.

"Long John is here and some think the deuce is to pay . . . everybody is awaiting with breathless anxiety the coming of some sad calamity . . . he is a terror to his enemies. . . . You can depend upon it, there is some tall mischief in that tall man." These words were written early in 1853 by

the correspondent of a Missouri newspaper reporting the visit of John Wentworth to the Illinois capital at Springfield. At that time Wentworth was at the peak of his journalistic and political careers. Since coming to Chicago in 1836 this "tall man," six feet six inches in height and nicknamed "Long John," had swaggered and blustered his way through many a controversy; and his Illinois associates had long known that wherever he appeared "tall mischief" was likely to attend him. In *Chicago Giant* Don E. Fehrenbacher presents an attractive account of the career of this contentious nineteenth-century Chicagoan.

John Wentworth was born and educated in New Hampshire. In the late autumn of 1836 following his graduation from Dartmouth he migrated westward to Chicago. A few weeks after his arrival at the lake city he assumed editorial direction of the Chicago *Democrat.* Soon he owned the paper which he controlled until 1861, when he sold it to the Chicago *Tribune.* The *Democrat* under his control was a belligerent newspaper, supporting at first the anti-bank and anti-monopoly principles of Jacksonian Democracy. Then, as the Chicago region filled with anti-slavery men and the slavery debate became a national political obsession, John Wentworth and the *Democrat* took a radical anti-slavery stand.

Wentworth's career is of particular interest because of the peculiarly dramatic way in which it is associated with the early history of Chicago. As newspaper editor, as politician (Congressman and Mayor of Chicago), as farmer, as railroad developer, and as businessman Wentworth built his fortunes upon the opportunities existing in Chicago. In Mr. Fehrenbacher's book the bustling life of the city which Wentworth so loved and the intricate interplay of Chicago and Illinois politics which Wentworth so thoroughly mastered appear only in limited scope. As a result, John Wentworth himself does not always emerge in full perspective, as a man whose motives and actions are adequately understood and explained.

In the larger perspective of national history, Wentworth's career is most significant in the 1850's, when, faced with the slavery debate, he made the decision to cooperate with the anti-slavery men and the Republican party. Mr. Fehrenbacher's account of "Long John's" alliance with the anti-slavery movement and his resulting relations with Douglas, Lincoln, and the Buchanan administration is a valuable contribution to American political history. The tendency of "Long John" to be a maverick in politics is well-illustrated in these years when he was a Democrat going Republican on the slavery issue. He assumed the name of Republican with great reluctance, only to proceed within a few months to flirt with the Buchanan Democrats. In 1862, still a Republican, he cooperated with the Democratic majority controlling the Illinois Constitutional Convention in maneuvers which embarrassed and obstructed the wartime administration of Richard Yates. After the war Wentworth became gradually more conservative and somewhat more predictable. After his last term in Congress during the Johnson administration, he continued to figure in Republican politics; but he gave most of his attention to the management of his property. As he grew older he developed a keen interest in antiquarianism and in the preservation of historical materials.

Physically *Chicago Giant* is a handsome publication. Readers will be delighted to find several very interesting photographs of "Long John."

STANLEY L. JONES

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Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Paul M. Angle. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, XXXIII). The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958. Pp. xxxiii, 422. $7.50.

The centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas campaign is appropriately marked by the publication of the famous debates of that memorable contest. Fifty years have elapsed since the last edition of the debates was published (Edwin E. Sparks, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858,* Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1908), and students of the Civil War have long recognized the need for a new edition. The present work, the most complete yet published, goes far to fulfill that need.

The present publication contains not only the seven joint debates, but also five preliminary speeches, which were an integral part of the campaign. These include: Lincoln's famous "house divided" speech of June 16, his Chicago speech of July 10 and his Springfield speech of July 17, as well as Douglas's Chicago speech of July 9 and his July 17 speech at Springfield. The speeches and debates were drawn primarily from the newspaper accounts of the Chicago *Press and Tribune* (Republican) and the Chicago *Times* (Democratic). Both newspapers hired stenographic reporters to accompany the candidates; in so doing they provided the only full account of the actual debates. This work contains not only the opening speeches, the replies and the rejoinders, but also such comments from the audience as the reporters were able to catch amidst the noise and confusion of the political rallies.

Also incorporated in the present volume are judiciously chosen excerpts from the "cover" stories filed with the various newspapers during the heat of the campaign. They not only reveal the partisan spirit of the times, but supply a vivid account of the candidates' activities between their monumental debates. Interposed between these newspaper selections are the editor's explanatory paragraphs, always sufficiently concise so as not to distract the reader from the flavor of the contemporary record.

A thirty page "Introduction" summarizing the momentous events between 1850 and 1858 supplies the background for the debates. The editor, while of necessity being brief, has unfortunately devoted more space to the activities of Lincoln than to those of Douglas, which have never been as widely publicized. Although this unbalance is to be regretted, Douglas' historical significance has not been underestimated.

A more serious objection can be raised by the historian, however, over the failure of the editor to note the discrepancies between the various reported versions of the speeches and debates. Since the sources were, of necessity, highly partisan newspapers and, in the case of Lincoln's speeches, the newspapers plus the Lincoln-edited scrapbook of the debates, the differences should have been noted. For variations in Lincoln's speeches the scholar can always consult the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1953-55), but for the Douglas speeches he must return to the newspapers themselves. This fact somewhat limits the usefulness of the work for a serious student. It is unfortunate, for the book otherwise evidences great care in preparation.

JOHN J. REARDON

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Notes and Comments

Santa Cruz of the Etla Hills, by Helen Miller Bailey, is one of the most recent publications of the University of Florida Press, Gainesville. This is a most unique study of society in a very small Mexican town. Santa Cruz Etla, population thirty families, is in the hills outside Oaxaca, some four hundred miles southeast of Mexico City. Its main street is an oxcart road, its side streets several trails. Its inhabitants have made no impression on the history or economy of the nation and probably would have remained unknown to posterity, secure in their primitive life, had not this book been written.

Dr. Bailey interested herself in the lives and environment of the small community in 1934, when she lived at Santa Cruz Etla as a student of sociology for three months. Each ten years thereafter she repeated her visits, checking various indications of progress or regress, and amassing complete sociological details. There are minute descriptions of the houses, the fields, the hills, the crops, the fruits, the gardens, the goats, cats, dogs, oxen, horses, the food and clothing, the customs and habits, the religious ceremonies, the fiestas, the joys and sadnesses. Thus, a dog is not just another hound, but is Chico's dog, an ox is not merely a bovine, but Nico's unruly brown ox, and even the pig gains stature as Francisco's pig.

All attention is centered upon the people. The names of the Indian families and individuals are the chapter heads, and their thoughts, actions, histories, and modes of existence are the heart of the book. In Mrs. Bailey's conversational and at times whimsical style the little Indian town and the little people are elevated to a high plane of human dignity. The men are dignified with the title of Don and the women are Doñas; the adobe, backwoods village is a municipality; the baker, the miller, the goat farmer become Presidents of the Municipal Council; Don Marciano qualified as Chairman of Public Works (the water supply) probably because he rode a horse, owned a rifle and had eight children. No tiny incident in the humdrum lives of these people escaped Mrs. Bailey's eye or camera, and each is handled with a loving pen. Pictures of the inhabitants, pen sketches, and endpaper maps illustrate the well-printed volume of 292 pages. Its list price is six dollars.

* * * *

The second volume of the new edition of Alegre's history of the Jesuits in New Spain has recently arrived. The exact title is: *Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J. Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Neuva España.* Tomo II, Libros 4–6 (Años 1597–1639). Nueva Edición por Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., y Felix Zubillaga, S.J., Roma, Institutum Historicum, S.J., Via dei Penitenzieri, 20. The editors continue the excellent standards established in the first volume which described the beginnings of the Jesuit activities in Florida and New Spain from 1566 to 1595. The second volume tells of the development of the college and mission foundations over the next forty years and traces the movements of the Jesuit missionaries up the Pacific slope. Numerous footnotes to persons, places and events amplify the text and reveal meticulous research in archives. Moreover, variations in the copies are given. The text of Algere runs to page 474. Then follow over two hundred pages of allied documents, letters, memorials, relations, and acts of congregations, some used by Alegre and some inedited. A comprehensive index of persons, places and notable events carries the pages to 747, excluding the 32 page bibliography at the beginning of the book. With the corrections and additions this edition assumes the proportion of a definitive history of the Jesuits in New Spain. And the list price of the paper edition is a very reasonable six dollars.

* * * *

Handbook of Latin American Studies, No. 20, prepared in The Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress by a number of scholars, under the general editorship of Francisco Aguilera and his assistant, Phyllis G. Carter, has very recently been published by the University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida. Too much praise cannot be given to all those involved in the production of this indispensable volume. The present number includes publications issued in the years 1954, 1955, and 1956, and all important publications prior to these dates which have been seen by the editors for the first time. Although the numbering of the entries runs to 5073 in order to leave spaces for unfilled blocks of items, actually there are 3965 entries. Complete information about the book, article, map or music score is given, with a brief critical comment. There are excellent subject and author indexes. The list price is $12.50.

* * * *

Latin American History, A Guide to the Literature in English, by R. A. Humphreys, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, published in September, 1958, by Oxford University Press, is a very neat handbook of 197 pages including the biographical and authors' indexes. Mr. Humphreys, long a student of Latin American history and Professor in the University of London, presents this useful volume with the hope that it will "help to unlock the doors to a great body of literature on Latin American history in the English language." He has been quite judicious in his selection of the 2,200 entries, and though he may be scolded for omitting some authors of the journalistic type who have contributed nothing but their impressions or opinions, he receives our praise for distinguishing between substantial historical materials and ephemeral writings. He does not include writings on archaeology, ethnology, geography, nor Parliamentary and Congressional papers. In broader perspective, this Guide reveals the vast output of historical literature in English since Mr. Humphreys compiled his earlier bibliography some ten years ago and it reveals the remarkable amount of attention that has been given to Latin America over the past thirty years. The list price here is $3.40, well within the means of graduate and undergraduate students.

* * * *

Three new volumes of the University of California Publications in History have recently come, paper bound, from the University of California Press. Volume 56, *Genesis of the Meiji Government in Japan, 1868–1871,* by Robert A. Wilson, appeared in 1957. Last year, too, came Volume 57, *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1843–1933,* by Gilman M. Ostrander. These are works of scholarly research, the first strictly for students of Japanese history, the second of interest to anyone either for or against the demon rum, John Barleycorn, and winebibbing. In the history of the nation no issue has given rise to as many national and local problems as has the temperance issue, and none has brought about the rise of as many reputable and disreputable organizations. Mr. Ostrander traces the course of battle between the wets and drys in California, using as sources the "pro" and "anti" writers, speakers, periodicals, records of clubs, leagues, unions, federations, alliances, and associations. The liquor business and liquor drinking affected almost every person in the state, and every group—political, social, religious and economic. Generally there were

"pros" and "antis" in each group. Mr. Ostrander brings in all the embattled organizations, The Anti-Saloon League, The Bartenders' Union, The Bone Dry Federation, The Bottlers Protective Association, The California Dry Association, The California Wet Association, the Temperance associations, the Wine and Liquor associations, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. He reveals the efforts of each in promoting or blocking legislation, and he does so in an objective and readable manner.

The third of the volumes, 55, is dated 1958. This is *Timaeus of Tauromenium,* by Truesdell S. Brown. A far call in time and scope from the preceding this study evaluates the crabbed personality and reliability of an historian of the late fourth and early third century B. C. on the basis of some fragments of his lost writings as commented upon by later Greek historians. The first chapter discusses the dates of Timaeus and what is known of his life, fixing the time of his exile in Athens, sketching the circumstances of his writing, and locating him in the tradition of ancient historians of the West. In subsequent chapters the author studies the fragments of Timaeus, in the conviction that "if we can no longer recover the full sweep of Timaeus' work, we can, by careful reading, select and consider some of the subjects treated and recover something of the spirit in which Timaeus treated them," (p. 23). The fragments are grouped according to subject matter and discussed under three broad divisions, roughly chronological,—"Geography, Myth, and Prehistory", "The Good Old Days", and "Modern Times" (i.e. events after 409/8 B.C.). A final chapter, "Timaeus and His Critics", evaluates the reaction of later Greek historians, particularly that of Polybius. The volume is interestingly written, well documented, and provided with indices, but its impact upon men of the satellite age is not at present predictable.

* * * *

The Council of State of North Carolina for the past thirty-five years has been performing a notable public service by sponsoring the publication of the letters and papers of each successive governor of the state at the conclusion of his term of office. The most recent volume coming from Raleigh, 1957, is *Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of William Bradley Umstead, Governor of North Carolina 1953–1954,* edited by David Leroy Corbitt, of the Division of

Publications, State Department of Archives and History. Governor Umstead was inaugurated on January 8, 1953, after winning the election in a difficult contest. Two days later he suffered a heart attack which necessitated confinement to his bed much of the time until his death on November 7, 1954. During his twenty-two months incumbency he succeeded in delivering a noteworthy number of messages to the assembly, addresses, and executive orders. There is an introductory sketch by Edward L. Rankin and a biographical tribute to the governor by R. Percy Reade. The volume is illustrated with well chosen pictures.

* * * *

The American Historical Association is preparing a *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada,* under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. The *Guide* will be a desk reference book, paralleling the *Guide to Historical Literature,* that will tell where to find important bodies of microfilmed and other photocopied materials and how to use and procure them. It is expected to be published late in 1959.

The Association's Committee on Documentary Reproduction, with the assistance of an Advisory Committee of experts from the Library and Archival field, is supervising the collection of materials and editing. In this work the Archives section of the Canadian Historical Association is co-operating. The *Guide* will locate photocopied holdings of historical manuscripts by standard union list practices, according to traditional subject and period fields of history. This information is now being collected through co-operation with archives, libraries, and historical societies in both countries. Duplication of effort is currently avoided through the exchange of reports with the *Union List of Microfilms.* The method of preparing the text anticipates the possible issuance of supplements.

The Editor solicits the aid of historians in both countries in the discovery and accurate description of holdings of photocopied manuscripts wherever they may be. He welcomes information that will assist him in making the *Guide* as complete as possible. The Editor is Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr. Please address correspondence to him at: Boston University, Copley Square Campus, 84 Exeter Street, Room 401, Boston 16, Mass.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XL

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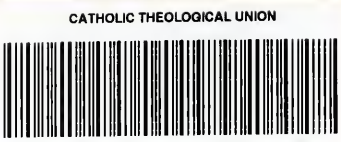

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